Mediaeval Studies

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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES

OF THE

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

DEDICATE

THIS VOLUME

TO THE MEMORY OF

LEONARD E. BOYLE, O.P

AND

EDMUND COLLEDGE, O.S.A.

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LEONARD E. BOYLE, O.P. (1923–1999)

J. Ambrose Raftis, C.S.B.

L EONARD E. Boyle was born on 13 November 1923 at Creggan, Bally-bofey, Co. Donegal, Ireland. He was given the name Eugene at baptism and took the name Leonard when he entered the Dominican Order. Tralee, Co. Kerry, became his Irish home and the locale of his annual holiday.

The young Eugene Boyle took his secondary schooling with the Cistercians of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford, and won a scholarship from this well-known school in 1940. On 4 September 1943, at St. Mary of the Isle, Cork, Eugene entered the Dominican Order. From 1944 to 1947 he studied philosophy at Cork and also in Dublin (the *Studium Generale* at St. Mary Immaculate of the Rosary, Tallaght). For his theology (1947–51) he was sent to Blackfriars, Oxford, and was ordained to the priesthood at Clonliffe College, Dublin, December 1949. His Dominican training was completed when, in July 1951, he received the degree of Lector in Sacred Theology (S.T.Lr) for a still unpublished thesis ("The *Quaestiones disputatae* and the *Quodlibet* of Richard Knapwell, O.P.: An Edition and Commentary") researched and written under the supervision of D. A. Callus, O.P., Regent of Students at Blackfriars and a specialist in scholastic thought and thirteenth-century Oxford schools.

L. E. Boyle was encouraged to continue his scholarly work as a member of St. Catherine's Society (now St. Catherine's College) at Oxford. In October 1951 he began work under W. A. Pantin for a B.Litt. degree in the University of Oxford. His findings were so impressive that in November 1953 he transferred, without examination, to D.Phil. status. Leonard Boyle focussed on clerical education in the later Middle Ages, with particular attention to the works of William of Pagula, a fourteenth-century parish priest.

At the Oxford university of his time the generous spirit of the young student was fortunate to be moulded, as later he would mould others, by a genuine community of scholars. The open exchange of information sessions with staff over coffee and tea and with fellow students on a fortnightly basis resemble strikingly that open post-World War I community of scholarship at Strasbourg made famous by the recollections of Marc Bloch. Etienne Gilson was a member of that Strasbourg experience and undoubtedly this was the germ of his emphasis upon community in his founding of the Pontifical Institute of Medi-

aeval Studies at Toronto. Among the scholars available for consultation at Oxford by the young Father Boyle were the eminent palaeographers N. R. Ker and R. W. Hunt. Under their influence Leonard Boyle was, in his own words, "sidetracked into palaeography because I liked it and found that the reading of manuscripts came naturally to me."

From February 1955 to June 1957 he was employed by the National Library of Ireland and the Public Record Office of London to do research in the Vatican Archives towards a continuation of the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* Thus began Leonard Boyle's permanent association with San Clemente, the Roman basilica and monastery given in 1677 to the Dominicans of the Irish Province. His hosts were well rewarded when Leonard Boyle traced the "lost" relicts of St. Cyril and was present when they returned to San Clemente. During this period he continued work at Oxford and was awarded the D.Phil. degree by Oxford University in 1956 for his work on William of Pagula. Even before the reception of this degree his scholarship was recognized by the Alexander Prize from the Royal Society of London for his essay "The *Oculus sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula."

In October 1956 he began to teach courses in Latin palaeography and the history of medieval theology at the "Angelicum" (Pontificia Università San Tommaso d'Aquino) in Rome. He also became, in October 1960, Professor of Church History at the Pontificia Università Lateranense. Research and publication accompanied this teaching. He wrote more than 180 entries (the majority concerned with Irish saints) for the *Bibliotheca sanctorum,* a multivolume project of the "Lateran" published in the 1960s, and continued to work in the Vatican Library and the Vatican Archives, no doubt on matters related to his thesis.

The main portion of the career of Leonard E. Boyle was to be spent on the staff of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, Canada. Father J. Reginald O'Donnell, C.S.B., one of the founding fathers of this Institute and Professor of Latin and Latin Palaeography there, "discovered" Father Boyle in Italy and invited him to come to Toronto. Reginald O'Donnell was imbued with that community commitment recognized by Etienne Gilson as essential to the Institute teaching program. That is to say, the personal research and career of any member of the staff was not to take precedence over the needs of students and the demands for communication with colleagues. Since the use of Latin manuscripts was basic for all students, the Pontifical Institute placed a particularly heavy burden on Father O'Donnell and by the 1950s his health began to fail. When Leonard Boyle came to Toronto in 1961 he was able

to share this teaching of palaeography with Reginald O'Donnell and he found himself quite at home with the community orientation of the Pontifical Institute.

By the early 1960s it was becoming apparent that medievalists at the University of Toronto were in dire need of further resources. A committee was formed by three members who were most aware of these needs: Reginald O'Donnell, who had experienced the lack of interest in medieval Latin by the Classics Department; Bertie Wilkinson, who was concerned about the shift to Canadian history reducing resources available for medieval history in the Department of History; and Peter Brieger who longed to give a medieval extension to the area of Fine Art. By the middle of the decade a Centre for Medieval Studies had been founded in order to respond to these needs. John Leyerle of the English Department and L. K. Shook, C.S.B., as President of the Pontifical Institute worked out a program to integrate the staff and resources of the Pontifical Institute with the newly founded Centre for Medieval Studies.

The student body virtually exploded in size under these new arrangements, with the greatest increase among historians at the Pontifical Institute and among students of literature at the Centre for Medieval Studies. L. E. Boyle was at the heart of this explosion. By 1965 his teaching included a semester of introductory Latin Palaeography, a seminar in Diplomatics, and a history course entitled "The Vatican Archives." Elected a Senior Fellow of the Pontifical Institute in that year, he would be designated Professor of Latin Palaeography and Diplomatics. By the end of the decade he took over the two-semester Latin Palaeography course. By the time Leonard Boyle left Toronto in 1984 it was estimated that he had taught Latin Palaeography to some 800 students. Many of these students were historians since his generously broad introduction to a variety of manuscripts and the course in Diplomatics answered to the variety of needs for candidates in history. Equally important was the fact that Leonard Boyle provided a focus for a corps of professors at Toronto in an invaluable experiment in interdisciplinary studies. Etienne Gilson's search for a true cultural history took on a twentieth-century dimension when a candidate for the Ph.D. in history might draw upon a board that included professors of palaeography, legal history, economic history, social history, and Latin literature.

This heavy schedule was not undertaken at the cost of cutting connections with Europe. Normally he returned sometime in May to Rome. His time there was used for research at the Vatican Archives, but he also had a constant stream of North American visitors who came to find him at San Clemente. July and August he reserved for Ireland and England. In connection with the *Calendar of Entries in Papal Letters Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, of which project he was named General Editor in 1970, he worked at the National Archives, Dublin, and the Public Record Office, London.

Despite the schedule that took Father Boyle to Europe for an extended period of time, he continuously expanded his contributions to medieval studies in North America. Too numerous to record here, his lectures and papers varied from addresses to the thousands at the annual Medieval Conference at Kalamazoo to his regular attendance at the small Midwest Medieval History sessions. At the latter a familiar pattern emerged and prompted James M. Powell to edit *Medieval Studies: An Introduction* (Syracuse, 1976) and to note in his Preface, "The planning for this volume has tried to emphasize medieval studies rather than a single discipline." Leonard E. Boyle contributed to this volume what might be considered a definitive study entitled "Diplomatics."

It was no surprise that one who had published as early as 1972 *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of Its Medieval Holdings* should be appointed Prefect of the Vatican Library by Pope John Paul II on 24 May 1984. Almost as a sequel to the Second Vatican Council, this appointment "opened the doors" to this vast literary treasure. This tremendously successful endeavour by Father Boyle cannot begin to be summarized in this brief account of his activities. Indeed, a useful comparison could be drawn between the opening-to-the-world policy of Pope John Paul II and the extraordinary story of Leonard Boyle's work at the Vatican Library and its new world audience. A useful introduction to this experience may be found in Virginia Brown's memorial on Leonard Boyle in *Scrittura e civiltà*, a memorial that has assisted the writing of these few pages.

The numerous titles awarded to Leonard E. Boyle include Master in Theology (S.T.M.) of the Dominican Order (1983), Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (1985), and Officer of the Order of Canada (1987). His many publications and papers show the breadth of his work, as in his 1984 publication *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction,* and depth of analysis, as may be exemplified by his Gilson Lecture of 1982, "The Setting of the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas."

Overcome by pancreatic cancer, Leonard E. Boyle passed away peacefully at a Roman hospital on the afternoon of 25 October 1999, surrounded by his Dominican brothers. On 25 October 2000 he is to be buried under the altar of the Lower Basilica at San Clemente with the inscription

Leonardus Eugenius Boyle O.P.
13 Nov. 1923 Dungaliae in Hibernia – 25 Oct. 1999 Romae
Sacerdos – Scholaris – Magister
Praefectus Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae

Omnia disce. Videbis postea nichil esse superfluum.
Coartata scientia iucunda non est.

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EDMUND (ERIC) COLLEDGE, O.S.A. (1910–1999)

Kent Emery, Jr.

F ATHER Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., died at age 89 in Deal, Kent, England on 18 November 1999; he was buried a week later (25 November) at Clare Priory, the Augustinian mother house in Suffolk. For several years he had lived in the Regency House Nursing Home in Deal. Until about 1996 Father Colledge continued his scholarly research and writing. After that infirmity and illness made study and writing extremely difficult for him; even so, he struggled to correct proofs and maintained correspondence with his friends. In the last year of his life he was especially delighted to see the publication of his study and translation (with Judith Grant and J. C. Marler) of Margaret Porette's *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1999), a project on which he had been working for nearly three decades and which he had despaired of ever "seeing the light of day." *Ars longa, vita brevis:* at his death he left unfinished further studies concerning John Capgrave and James of Varazze's *Golden Legend,* a translation of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* (which, falsely attributed to Augustine, were widely read in the later Middle Ages), and a critical edition of Thomas Fishlake's Latin translation of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection.*

Eric Colledge (as he was christened in the Church of England) was born in Tynemouth, Northumberland on 14 August 1910. He entered Liverpool University in 1929 and graduated with First Class Honours in English in 1932. In 1932–33 he studied Germanic philology in Munich, and then returned to Liverpool, receiving his M.A. in 1935. At Liverpool he was taught by J. H. G. Grattan, who invited him to join the critical edition of William Langland's *Piers Plowman.* Colledge declined the invitation, for his literary interests lay elsewhere. From 1937 to 1963—interrupted by World War II—he taught in the Department of English Language and Philology at Liverpool, where he was successively promoted from Assistant to Senior Lecturer to Reader. During the War, because of his perfect fluency in French, Dutch, and German (he could discern every German dialect), he served in military intelligence. After the armistice he was appointed to the Allied Control Commission for Germany, and in 1945–46 he was a member of the special commission in Berlin to supervise the reopening of German universities.

Eric Colledge entered the Catholic Church in 1949. In 1963, he resigned his Readership at Liverpool and entered the novitiate of the Augustinians at Clare Priory, taking the name Edmund in memory of St. Edmund Rich of Canterbury. His Novice Master at Clare was the distinguished paleographer and medievalist, Benedict Hackett, with whom he later collaborated in scholarly projects. Colledge, it seems, had at first considered becoming a Dominican friar (Leonard Boyle reported to me that he had several times visited Blackfriars in Oxford with that in mind), but, steeped in the writings of St. Augustine and of Jan van Ruusbroec, whom he judged to be one of the finest theologians in the history of the Church, in the end he found the traditions of the Augustinian Order closer to his own spirit. In his scholarly work, nonetheless, he paid as much homage to the Preachers (Thomas Aquinas, Meister Eckhart, John Tauler, Henry Suso) as to the writers of his own Order. From 1964 to 1967 Colledge studied theology at the Beda in Rome; as one might imagine, these studies among other "late vocations" were a bit of an ordeal for him. In 1967 he was ordained a priest.

In 1968 Edmund Colledge was a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Toronto. In 1969 he was appointed Professor extraordinarius of Vernacular Literature at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies; in 1972 he was nominated to be a Senior Fellow of the Institute. At the Institute he taught courses and seminars in vernacular literature (Old and Middle English, medieval German and Dutch), comparative Germanic philology, and the history of spirituality. From 1967 to 1980 he was a coeditor of the *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, founded by Giuseppe De Lucca and at the time directed by Romana Guarnieri. Father Colledge often averred that his years at Toronto—where he was able to concentrate on scholarly study amidst the extraordinary resources of the Institute's library, and where he taught (opaque but) devoted students—were the happiest of his life.

Father Colledge retired from the Pontifical Institute in 1977. Thereafter, returning to England, he served the Augustinian Order at the parish of Hoxton in London's East End, at the Austin Friars' School in Carlisle, at Hythe in Kent, and lastly, as Chaplain to the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions in Deal. He was a fine preacher, a reverent celebrant, and a keen and kindly confessor.

Obituaries in British newspapers report that as a young man Colledge was a flamboyant dresser, devoted to the theatre (like Augustine), and a renowned dinner-host. None of this will surprise his colleagues and students at Toronto. Colledge's seminars were dramatic affairs; under his subtle direction, each student, according to his or her particular ability and personal cast of mind, played a special role in the joint interrogation of the text at hand. (I could recount Colledge's dramatic flare in several memorable social events in Toronto,

old Charleston, and, improbably, at Kalamazoo.) At the end of each academic year he shredded his lecture notes and prepared a new script for the course when he taught it again. Father Colledge had a razor-sharp wit. For earnestly sincere Americans his humour was an acquired taste, the kind of thing they professed to enjoy in BBC dramas or when reading, say, a novel by Evelyn Waugh, but which in "real life" some at least felt to be abrasive. In the seminar room and inscribed on student-papers Colledge's wit was pedagogical; his surgical slices in a flash exposed incoherent thought, inept expression, and any predisposing "cultural baggage," whatever its origins, that obscured the understanding of medieval texts in their own terms.

I remember Father Laurence Shook telling Peter Erb and me that, when he arrived, Father Colledge would introduce a new discipline at Toronto, the "history of spirituality," which embraced an enormous body of devotional, ascetic, mystical literature and works concerning the religious life but which, although it constituted a great part of the medieval manuscript record, was neglected in universities. Indeed, even at the egregiously "interdisciplinary" University of Toronto of the 1960s and 70s, where—perhaps inspired by the success of Gilson's Institute—Centres for everything proliferated, Colledge charted new academic ground, which his doctoral students were continually constrained to justify to their departments. Through his writings, Colledge's influence in North America spread far beyond Toronto. In the mid-1980s, when I visited the Ruusbroecgenootschap in Antwerp, the coeditor and annual bibliographer of the excellent journal *Ons Geestelijk Erf,* J. Andriessen, remarked to me that Father Colledge's scholarly work was "a wellspring of the strong current of interest in the history of spirituality in England and North America." His many editions, translations, and essays did much to establish Middle English spiritual literature in university curricula, to introduce modern English readers to the spiritual writings of medieval men and women from Germany and the Low Countries, to show the relation between vernacular and authoritative Latin traditions, and to reveal the fruitful tension between "tradition and the individual talent," that is, between official medieval notions of orthodoxy and the singular mystical insights of the spiritually gifted. Long before it was *de rigueur,* Colledge promoted the intellectual stature of women religious writers. His critical edition, with James Walsh, of the *Book of Showings* by Julian of Norwich established Julian as a major literary figure (her text is now included, for example, in Notre Dame's program of Great Books). His and Walsh's translation of Julian's book launched the series, The Classics of Western Spirituality. Colledge's translation and study of Margaret Porette's *Mirror,* wherein all of his abiding interests came together, is a fitting close to his literary career. The Carthusians, who esteemed Margaret's teaching, judged that it

was best reserved for those proficient in "the science of the saints." Within two decades after Father Colledge's arrival on these shores, the subject of "Spirituality" had become a major industry in American universities, in faculties of vernacular literature, history ("heresy and dissidence"), psychology, religious studies, gender studies, and sexology. *Omnia recipiuntur in modo recipientis.*

Father Colledge's scholarship and teaching were philological, in the large sense of the term: he followed, and urged his students to follow, the "words and things" of spiritual texts wherever they led, into the medieval liturgy, hagiography, Scholastic philosophy and theology, canon law, institutional history, medieval rhetoric, and art history. This explains a salient feature of his work. Because he knew much, he knew the limitations of his own learning. Therefore, in his major books and articles he preferred to collaborate with other scholars, notably with James Walsh, S.J., and in later years with his student at Toronto, J. C. Marler. Likewise, according to what they needed to know for their theses, he encouraged his students to enroll in, or audit, the courses of his colleagues, and he arranged for his students to tutor each other in their special competencies.

Colledge's métier was translation, which involved all of his erudition and intentions. For each translation he first examined the manuscript and printed tradition of the text. His historical and phonological knowledge of medieval languages enabled him to hear all of the intertextual resonances of medieval writings, across linguistic lines. Bonaventure said that the first duty of a theologian was to memorize the Scriptures; so Father Colledge insisted that medievalists should read and reread the Latin Vulgate. His ability to hear implicit allusions to the Bible served to reveal just how scriptural medieval religious discourse was. Colledge rendered his texts in an elegant modern English that captured not only the sense but the tone of the original. To his students he imparted the "translative" sense. Students in medieval studies at Toronto were preoccupied with the effort to learn Latin, medieval vernaculars, and the modern languages of scholarship. Father Colledge judged it doubly unfortunate that they could not speak or write their native tongue. Thus, his students at first dreaded receiving, essay-by-essay and chapter-by-chapter, his "vetting" of their writing, which left no phrase or sentence unmarked and was accompanied by a biting commentary in the margins; confronted with the evidence, however, students soon came to understand what a precious gift of teaching he had bestowed upon them. Colledge applied the same rule to himself; thus he asked colleagues or students (e.g., Frank Mantello) to scrutinize his translations in the same way. There was, of course, another dimension to Father Colledge's love for translation. The translation of medieval spiritual writings, which he believed were especially apt to guide the religious longings of modern people, was his special contribution to the life of the Church.

Father Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., was an exceptional scholar and teacher, a loyal friar and priest, and a worthy exemplar of the spirit of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto. He embodied the medieval ideal of the marriage between "science and piety." *Requiescat in pace.*

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THE *DE MODO CONFITENDI* OF CADWGAN, BISHOP OF BANGOR

Joseph Goering and Huw Pryce

AMONG the numerous handbooks and practical guides for hearing confessions produced in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, the treatise by Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor (Wales) from 1215 to 1235/6, is one of the lesser known.[1] Written before 1236, apparently for the education of the diocesan clergy in one of the poorest of the Welsh dioceses, the *De modo confitendi* survives in a single, weathered, manuscript copy. Despite appearances, it is an important witness to the early developments of this type of literature, and to the history of its use and dissemination. The author, a colourful figure in his own right, is also less well known than he deserves. To rectify this situation we present here a sketch of the life and writings of Cadwgan of Bangor and an edition of his little treatise concerning the confession of sins.

According to the Welsh Chronicles known as *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Chronicle of the Princes) Cadwgan, a Cistercian monk and Bishop of Bangor, was a native of Lamphey (Llandyfái) in Pembrokeshire.[2] What little can be known to us of his early life must be gleaned from the often-tendentious and bitter account of Gerald of Wales in his *Speculum ecclesiae* (ca. 1220).[3] In one of many passages where Gerald vents his spleen against Cistercians, he describes Cadwgan

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[1] The authors would like to thank Dr. L. E. Boyle and Dr. F. G. Cowley for drawing our attention to Cadwgan's treatise on confession, and Dr. Cowley for providing us with his photostatic copy of the unique manuscript text.

[2] *Brut y Tywysogyon, or the Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones, 2d ed. (Cardiff, 1973), 204–5; *Brut y Tywysogyon, or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), 91.

[3] Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae* 3.7 (ed. J. S. Brewer in vol. 4 of *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series 21.4 [London, 1873], 161–67). For evaluations of this evidence, see David Knowles, "Some Enemies of Gerald of Wales," *Studia monastica* 1 (1959): 137–41; F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977), 122–26; and J. E. Lloyd, in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (London, 1959), 65. See also David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1963), 667–68. The fullest general study of Cadwgan and his extant writings remains C. H. Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 9 (1958): 18–40.

as the son of an itinerant Irish priest and a Welsh mother.[4] The father was said to have had another son with a different mother, and this half-brother of Cadwgan was a monk at the Cistercian abbey of Caerleon or Llantarnam. The father, we are told, paid for Cadwgan's education, but Gerald provides no clues about where or when this education might have taken place. He adds only that Cadwgan proved ungrateful, disowning his father and refusing to repay his generosity once he had become a Cistercian abbot. According to Gerald, Cadwgan's father was a gifted and effective preacher. Although Irish, he preached fluently in Welsh throughout the regions of Ceredigion and Powys (i.e., in West and Mid-Wales). This gift of eloquence, Gerald says, was inherited by Cadwgan, but he abused it when, as bishop of Bangor, he plagiarized the sermons which he delivered, more for show than for edification, on his journeys round abbeys in England and Wales.

One learns from Gerald's account that Cadwgan was first a monk, and then abbot, of the Cistercian house of Strata Florida (Strathfleur). He is remembered for having helped persuade his abbot, in 1202, that it was contrary to the Institutes of the Cistercians to allow Gerald to pawn his library to the community.[5] Shortly after this, Gerald informs us, Cadwgan procured the deposition of this abbot and was elected abbot of Strata Florida in his stead. Sometime thereafter Cadwgan was elected abbot of Whitland (Alba Landa, Alba Domus), the mother house of Strata Florida and of all the Cistercian houses in native Wales (*pura Wallia*). Gerald claims here that Cadwgan arranged the deposition of his abbot at Whitland, too.[6] Elsewhere Gerald boasts that he himself had been instrumental in bringing about the deposition (ca. 1203) of Abbot Peter, one of Cadwgan's predecessors as head of Whitland Abbey.[7]

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[4] Although the subject of Gerald's denunciation is unnamed, the identification with Cadwgan is clear from the details of the description. See John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (London, 1939), 2:688 n. 201; Knowles, "Some Enemies of Gerald of Wales," 140; and Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, 122–23.

[5] Gerald was thus forced to sell his library rather than pawn it; *Speculum ecclesiae* 3.5 (ed. Brewer, 153–55; translated in H. E. Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis* [London, 1937], 250–51). On the possible consequences of this episode for Welsh annalistic writing, see Julian Harrison, "A Note on Gerald of Wales and *Annales Cambriae*," *The Welsh History Review* 17 (1994–95): 252–55.

[6] Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae* 3.7 (ed. Brewer, 162–63, 166–67). Gerald's chronology of these events is vague, but it seems that Cadwgan became abbot of Whitland no earlier than 1212, and perhaps not until 1213; see Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, 122.

[7] Gerald of Wales, *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae* 7 (ed. J. S. Brewer in vol. 3 of *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series 21.3 [London, 1863], 240). See J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, vol. 2 (Cardiff, 1948), 554–56. As Davies notes, however, Gerald later came to take a kinder view of Peter which could perhaps account for his praise of the deposed abbot of Whitland's generosity and

Cadwgan served as abbot of Whitland until his election to the see of Bangor in 1215. Gerald, not surprisingly, sees Cadwgan's election to the episcopacy as further evidence of his greed and ambition. In telling the story, however, he offers a few bits of evidence about Cadwgan's early career. According to Gerald, Cadwgan went to great lengths to obtain the favour of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd (Northwest Wales) while the prince was on campaign in Cardigan in 1212, even claiming to be the prince's cousin. Cadwgan's efforts were undertaken in the knowledge that the cathedral church of Bangor, in Llywelyn's land, was vacant. Thanks to Llywelyn's support, Cadwgan was appointed to the see.[8] Cadwgan's association with Prince Llywelyn during the eventful years between 1212 and 1215 is certainly worthy of note,[9] and he continued to serve Llywelyn after his election to the see of Bangor. He was presumably one of the bishops sent by Llywelyn to Gwenwynwyn ab Owain, ruler of southern Powys, when the latter made peace with King John in 1216, thereby abandoning his homage to Llywelyn.[10] He also represented Llywelyn at an inquest ordered by Henry III in November 1223 concerning the lands of Maelgwn ap Rhys and other southern Welsh rulers.[11] It is likely that Cadwgan was absent from a meeting of bishops of the province of Canterbury summoned by Henry III in 1231 to discuss the possibility of excommunicating Llywelyn after the renewal of war by the prince in April; the only bishops from Wales were those of Llandaff and St. David's.[12]

With his election to the episcopal see of Bangor in 1215 Cadwgan makes more frequent appearances in the historical record. The See of Bangor, "the poorest of the poor Welsh dioceses," had remained unfilled since the death of Robert of Shrewsbury in 1212.[13] Early in 1215 the canons of Bangor asked the

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hospitality in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. For more on the abbey of Whitland, see Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, passim; and Butler, *Autobiography*, passim.

    [8] Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae* 3.7 (ed. Brewer, 162–63). Cf. Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, 122; and n. 16 below.

    [9] See David Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 1984), introduction and chap. 9, "Princes, Bishops and Abbots"; and Michael Richter, "David ap Llywelyn, the First Prince of Wales," *The Welsh History Review* 5 (1970–71): 205–19.

    [10] See Thomas Jones, " 'Cronica de Wallia' and Other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514," *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 12 (1946–48): 36; *Brut y Tywysogyon (Hergest)*, 206–9; and *Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth)*, 92.

    [11] See *Rotuli litterarum patentium* 1.1 (1201–15), ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), 413, 481.

    [12] See *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–78) 1:462–63; and Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*, 169. On the war, see R. F. Walker, "Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218–1232," *The English Historical Review* 87 (1972): 484–90.

    [13] Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), 141, 172. On 172 Cheney errs in calling Robert "Ralph," but the reference is indexed correctly, s.v. *Bangor* under the name "Robert."

king for permission to elect a new bishop. On 13 March 1215 King John agreed that the Bangor cathedral chapter might hold a free election, provided that it elect the abbot of Whitland, and he gave his consent to Cadwgan's consecration on 13 April.[14] The choice of the abbot of Whitland for this see may have been adumbrated already in December of 1214 when the king took Whitland Abbey under his protection and also confirmed its possession of various lands granted by earlier benefactors.[15] That Cadwgan should be able to garner such support for himself and for his abbey both from the English king and from the Welsh prince speaks well of his abilities.[16]

His election was greeted by a thirteenth-century Welsh chronicler in terms very different from those of Gerald's diatribe, describing the new bishop as "a man of wonderful eloquence and wisdom."[17] Cadwgan made his formal profession of obedience to the archbishop, describing himself as "humilis ecclesie Bangorensis electus,"[18] and received episcopal consecration, together with Bishop Iorwerth of St. David's, at the hands of Archbishop Stephen Langton at Staines on 21 June.[19] The ceremony took place in conjunction with the signing

[14] *Rotuli litterarum patentium* 1.1 (1201–15), ed. Hardy, 130, 132. Powicke and Cheney comment on the royal charter of 21 Nov. 1214, granting free elections to churches: "For the rest of the reign King John did what he could, without directly contravening the terms of the charter, to influence electoral bodies and the pope; in the case of the bishopric of Bangor he actually told the chapter whom to elect in his *congé d'élire,* and the chapter complied" (*Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, II [A.D. 1205–1313],* ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1964], 1:40 at n. 1). See also Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England,* 141–77.

[15] *Rotuli litterarum patentium* 1.1 (1201–15), ed. Hardy, 125; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. (London, 1817–30), 5:591.

[16] For the presumption in favour of Gerald's story of Llywelyn's influence in securing the see of Bangor for Cadwgan, see Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd,* 169; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 2:688; and J. Beverley Smith, "Magna Carta and the Charters of the Welsh Princes," *The English Historical Review* 99 (1984): 344–63 at 357–58.

[17] "Hoc anno duo Walenses episcopi Deo donante preficiuntur Meneuensi et Bangorensi ecclesiis. Geruasius uero abbas de Tallelecheu Premonstracensis ordinis sedi Meneuie, Caduganus uero abbas de Albo Domo Bangorum preficitur, uir mire facundie et sapientie" (Jones, "Cronica de Wallia," 35). The bishop was praised as "a man of great accomplishments and learning" in *Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth),* 104.

[18] *Canterbury Professions,* ed. Michael Richter, Canterbury and York Society 67 (Torquay, 1973), 64 (no. 154). Richter notes that the date given in the document, 26 February 1215, is probably a clerical error.

[19] For the St. David's election, see Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England,* 171–72. For the date of their consecration, see M. Tyson, "The Annals of Southwark and Merton," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 36 (1925): 50; and see the discussion in Smith, "Magna Carta," 358 and n. 5. Lloyd notes that the naming of the bishop of Bangor as "Martin" in the accounts of his consecration in the (related) Annals of Tewkesbury and Worcester is almost certainly an error; see *History of Wales* 2:688 n. 201.

of the Magna Carta, and the consecration of both bishops may perhaps be seen as part of a wider settlement with the Welsh, and with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in particular, such as is reflected in three clauses of that charter.[20]

The early years of Cadwgan's episcopacy were not without difficulties. In August of 1216 a sentence of interdict was pronounced by the papal legate Guala Bicchieri upon the whole of Wales, linked to the renewal of the sentence of excommunication passed against Louis, the son of the French king, and all his supporters.[21] The interdict was lifted only in March of 1218 with Prince Llywelyn's formal submission to the legate and to King Henry III. The settlement has been described as a major triumph for Llywelyn and the Welsh.[22] Although it is impossible to link Cadwgan directly with the diplomacy that resolved the specific issues surrounding the interdict, the rather delicate and successful balancing of the interests of Church, prince, and king is characteristic of the twenty years of Cadwgan's episcopacy.[23]

In 1219 Cadwgan was present at the Temple in London when Rognvald (Reginald), king of Man and the Isles, surrendered his kingdom to the papal legate Pandulf, and agreed to hold it henceforth of the Holy Roman Church.[24] Cadwgan's attestation of the document of submission follows immediately after King Rognvald's, suggesting that he played an important if unspecified role in the proceedings.[25]

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[20] See Smith, "Magna Carta," 357–59.

[21] See Nicholas Vincent, *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England, 1216–1218,* Canterbury and York Society 83 (Woodbridge, 1996), 91 (no. 124). One notes that the Cistercian abbots of Strata Florida and Whitland resisted the imposition of interdict and were deposed by the Cistercian general chapter "because of their excesses against the legate" (ibid.).

[22] See Vincent, *Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala,* 91–92 (no. 125); D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), 74–78; and, for a different assessment, J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), 21–22. For a discussion of Cadwgan's role, see Lloyd, *History of Wales* 2:651.

[23] Lloyd comments that, under Cadwgan "the ecclesiastical air was untroubled" (*History of Wales* 2:689). For the political and ecclesiastical background, see Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England During the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), 162–71; Walker, "Hubert de Burgh and Wales," 465–94; Richter, "David ap Llywelyn," 211–14; and Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd,* 166–70.

[24] Printed in *Le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine,* ed. L. Duchesne and P. Fabre, vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), 260–61, and in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters,* vol.1, A.D. 1198–1304, ed. W. H. Bliss, (London, 1893), 69–70; translated in William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages,* 2 vols. (New York, 1934), 2:48–49. See also Sayers, *Papal Government,* 64 and 164; and R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c. 1100–c.1336* (East Linton, 1997), 85–88, 211–16.

[25] For Cadwgan's attestation, see Richter, "David ap Llywelyn," 212. There were two claimants to the episcopal see of Man at this time; one was a kinsman of King Rognvald, the

Other evidence for Cadwgan's activities as bishop of Bangor is scattered throughout various types of records.[26] He was present with other Welsh bishops at the young Henry III's court at Bristol on 12 November 1216, where the matter of the interdict on Wales was discussed,[27] and again in their company at the consecration of Worcester Cathedral on 8 June 1218.[28] The cartulary of the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond contains a copy of the peaceful resolution of a dispute ("lis amicabili [*sic*] . . . conquievit") between Cadwgan and the abbey concerning the church of Nefyn (on the Llŷn peninsula in Gwynedd), whereby Haughmond was to pay the bishop 10 s. 10 d. annually in recognition of the latter's rights of procuration.[29] He is known to have granted indulgences for pilgrims visiting Leominster Priory and Reading Abbey,[30] and he granted the church of Llangurig to the abbey of Strata Florida.[31] In 1234 Cadwgan is seen sending a ship to Ireland to collect grain for distribution to the poor of his diocese.[32]

Sometime before 1 March 1236 Cadwgan was granted permission by Pope Gregory IX to resign his episcopal see.[33] Resignation (*renunciatio*) of an episcopal benefice in the Middle Ages was not meant to be easily accomplished.[34]

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other had been elected in the usual fashion by the monks of the Cistercian abbey of Furness, and consecrated in an unprecedented manner by the archbishop of Dublin. This second claimant sought and received in 1219 a papal mandate from Honorius III instructing the king to show him favor, a mandate which the king seems to have ignored; see McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles,* 212. The position of Cadwgan's attestation suggests that he acted on the king's behalf in this difficult situation.

[26] The *acta* and other sources collected by J. C. Davies for the projected third volume of his *Episcopal Acts* have not been published, but proofs of that volume were made available to C. H. Talbot, who provides references in his "Cadogan of Bangor," especially at 22–23 n. 36.

[27] See n. 21 above.

[28] "Annales de Wigornia," in *Annales Monastici,* vol. 4, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 36.4 (London, 1869), 409–10.

[29] *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey,* ed. Una Rees (Cardiff, 1985), 161, no. 793.

[30] Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," 22–23 n. 36; *Reading Abbey Cartularies,* 1, ed. B. R. Kemp, Camden Society, 4th ser., 31 (London, 1986), 176, 178.

[31] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, Papal Letters* 1:558–59.

[32] *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III: 1231–1234* (London, 1905), 417.

[33] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, Papal Letters* 1:151, dated 1 March 1236, at Viterbo: "Mandate to the chapter of Bangor, the see being void by resignation, to elect a bishop, applying the goods of the late bishop, except books and clothes, to the payment of the debts of the church." The Welsh chronicle comments: "That year [1236] Pope Gregory the Ninth relieved Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor, of his bishopric; and he was honourably received into the White Order at the monastery of Dore. And there he died and was buried" (*Brut y Tywysogyon [Hergest],* 234–35).

[34] For a general survey of the issues surrounding renunciation of benefices, see Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*

It required the permission of one's ecclesiastical superior,[35] and was not to be granted merely for reasons of age or infirmity.[36] A long decretal letter of Innocent III, included in the Decretals of Gregory IX published just a year or two before Cadwgan's resignation, sets out in some detail the possible causes for resigning one's benefice. They include awareness of a crime one has committed, physical debility, inadequate education, maliciousness of the people under one's care, grave scandal, and canonical irregularity.[37]

We have no direct evidence to indicate the reason for Cadwgan's being given permission to resign. The papal mandate to the chapter of Bangor directed them to elect a new bishop, and to apply all of the goods of the late bishop, excepting his books and his clothes, to the debts of the church.[38] Cadwgan retired from the episcopacy to the Cistercian abbey of Dore, on the Anglo-Welsh border in Herefordshire.[39] Many reasons might be alleged for the choice of Abbey Dore; at least one scholar has suggested that Cadwgan chose it in order to be near the "literary centre of Hereford."[40] In the context of a resignation of a benefice we might recall the canonical norm that any monk who wishes to change his house or his order should receive permission to do so only on the condition that he move to one of a stricter observance.[41] If Cadwgan petitioned the pope for permission to renounce his episcopal benefice and to return to the Cistercian habit, he might well have been required to find a Cistercian house of stricter observance and obedience than those he left at Strata Florida and Whitland. Since all of the Welsh Cistercian houses were under the obedience of Whitland, he may have requested permission to retire to Abbey Dore, just

(Philadelphia, 1984), 101–14. For England and Wales, see especially Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, 78–79.

[35] See Liber Extra, *De renunciatione*, c. Admonet (X 1.9.4; ed. Emil Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2 [Leipzig, 1881], col. 104). By the first years of the thirteenth century it was clear that a bishop could resign only with papal permission; see Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 106.

[36] Liber Extra, *De renunciatione*, c. Literas tuas (X 1.9.1; ed. Friedberg, col. 102).

[37] ". . . Intueri te itaque volumus quod haec sunt per quae cedendi episcopus licentiam potest postulare: conscientia criminis, debilitas corporis, defectus scientiae, malitia plebis, grave scandalum, irregularitasque personae. Sed in his omnibus est observanda cautela . . ." (X 1.9.10; ed. Friedberg, cols. 107–12 at 108). On this decretal, see Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 106–8. The best studies of the issues involved are Pier Caron, *La renuncia all'ufficio ecclesiastico* (Milan, 1946) and Linda Fowler, "Innocent Uselessness," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 89 (1972): 107–65.

[38] Quoted in n. 33 above.

[39] Quoted in n. 33 above; cf. *Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth)*, 104. See also David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), 10.

[40] Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," 19.

[41] See, for example, X 3.21.18 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 575–76).

across the border in Herefordshire.[42] Upon his arrival at Dore, Cadwgan surrendered all his property, including horses and books, to Stephen of Worcester, abbot of Dore, and also made provision there for his nephew, Cadwaladr, in recompense for services which the latter had rendered him.[43]

Whatever his reasons for renouncing his episcopal see, Cadwgan's years of retirement seem not to have been entirely restful. In 1239 the Chapter General of the Cistercian Order received reports that Cadwgan was causing serious disturbance, dissension and scandal at the abbey through his neglect of Cistercian observances concerning silence and other matters. It was therefore laid down that, unless he mend his ways, he be expelled from the order.[44] It seems, in the end, that Cadwgan was not expelled. Some two years later, on 11 April 1241, he died, and was buried at Dore.[45]

The treatise on confession printed below is one of several extant works that can be attributed to Cadwgan; all seem to have been composed while he was bishop of Bangor (1215×1236).[46] The other authentic works, all preserved in a single manuscript of the thirteenth century, Hereford Cathedral Library O.6.8, were bound together at that time with Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione*, William of St. Thierry's *De contemplando Deo* and *De natura et dignitate amoris*, Odo of Cambrai's *Expositio canonis missae*, anonymous verses on theological matters, four sermons, and a commentary on the *Pater noster*.[47] Cadwgan's works in this manuscript have been printed by Talbot.[48] The first,

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[42] For a useful discussion of these houses, see David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols. (Caldey Island, Tenby, 1984), chap. 1.

[43] Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721), 186–87; Cadwgan's profession of obedience and Will and Testament is reprinted by Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," 23 n. 39: "Notum sit omnibus Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae filiis presentibus et futuris quod ego Caducanus Dei gratia Episcopus Minister quondam Bangorensis, in ultima et libera voluntate mea Professionem meam feci Domino Stephano de Wigornia, Abbati de Dora, omni propter Deum renuntians proprietati: Dedi insuper, et bona voluntate mea contuli pro salute animae meae dicto Monasterio de Dora omnia quaecumque habui, sive in equis, sive in libris, sive omnino in aliqua re, sine omni reclamatione aliorum in perpetuum. In huius rei Testimonium hiis litteris nostris patentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus." The provisions for his nephew are noted by Talbot in the Public Record Office, Ancient Deeds, Court of Augmentation, no. 12582 (ibid., 23 n. 40).

[44] *Statuta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J. M. Canivez, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1934), 206.

[45] "Annales de Theokesberia," in *Annales Monastici*, vol. 1, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 36.1 (London, 1864), 122; *Brut y Tywysogyon (Hergest)*, 234–35.

[46] See Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), 82.

[47] R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), 42–43.

[48] Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," 26–40.

called a "treatise" on a verse of Psalm 79 (*Explicit tractatus Caducani epis-copi super hunc uersum psalmi: Ostende nobis Domine faciem tuam et salvi erimus, etc.* [Ps 79:4]), is an elegant meditation or sermon on the ways in which God shows his face to man and on the joy that this vision of God brings.[49] It is followed by a brief prayer.[50]

Then follows in the manuscript a series of prayers and meditations under the general rubric *Orationes Domini Caducani episcopi Bangoriensis.* The first item in this group is a prayer to the Holy Trinity: "O gloriosissime tres persone coequales et consubstantiales et coeterne sibi. . . ."[51] This is followed by a penitential prayer that bears comparison with the treatise *De modo confitendi* printed below. Here the Lord is asked to preserve us from the devil's calum-nies, examples of which include all of the seven deadly sins and many of the species of sins listed below in the confessional handbook.[52] Then follows a lit-any built around the response "Eripe me de inimicis meis, Domine, ad te con-fugi" (Ps 142:9).[53] The verses of the litany include elements that are comparable to the *De modo confitendi:* "Tanquam superbus ad te humilis-simum, humiliter deprecans ut me uerum humilem facias. . . . Tanquam inui-dus. . . . Tanquam iracundus . . . ," etc.

Next in the Hereford manuscript is a meditation on the verse of the Song of Songs: "Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te" (Cant 4:7).[54] It is introduced by the heading "Vidi speciosam quasi columbam ascendentem desuper riuos," a quotation from one of the responsories in the feast of the As-sumption.[55] The meditation includes a series of *distinctiones* on the seven "ascensions" of the Virgin Mary: "Ascendit in montana Iude cum festinatione et intrauit in domum Zacharie et salutauit Elizabeth. Ascendit a Nazareth in Bethlem una cum Joseph . . . ," along with an explanation of the reasons for each ("Prima ascensio ad saluandum et ministrandum") and the ways in which each ascension prefigures and exemplifies our own ascension ("In prima ex-primitur usus humilitatis et affectus pietatis. . . . Esto pius et humilis").

This meditation is followed by another which begins with a quite sophis-ticated theological exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, concluding with the practical implications: "Who therefore can pray more efficaciously for us before God than the Son of God? Who better to deputize for our weakness,

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[49] Ibid., 26–29.
[50] Ibid., 29.
[51] Ibid., 30.
[52] Ibid., 30–31.
[53] Ibid., 31–32.
[54] Ibid., 32–33.
[55] See the citation in Paschasius Radbertus, *De assumptione sanctae Mariae Virginis,* ed. A. Ripberger, CCCM 56C (Turnhout, 1985), 149 at lines 744 ff.

since this very God has himself experienced our human frailty? . . ."[56] The author's colophon urges the reader to meditate devoutly on these things because they are better understood "through humble devotion than through ornate composition."[57] If this is Cadwgan's own work (and there is no reason to think otherwise), he possessed a solid theological training and wrote for an audience, whether of monks or priests, which he judged similarly endowed.

The penultimate treatise in the Hereford manuscript was described carelessly by Talbot as an incomplete commentary on the early chapters of Genesis.[58] It is, in fact, another quite sophisticated (and possibly complete) meditation on the Incarnation. After a brief discussion of the reasons for, and the loveliness of, God becoming man, Cadwgan becomes more specific: "He came as Truth," Cadwgan writes, "so that he might fulfill the promises of the ancient fathers" ("Venit, item, ueritas, ut antiquis patribus promissa compleret . . ."). These promises or prophecies of Christ can be found as early as God's first words in Genesis, "Fiat lux," in which the coming of the true light was adumbrated. The remainder of the text is an exposition of the Christological import of the creation story. For example, "what is the 'earth bringing forth the green plant and the fruit-bearing tree' (Genesis 1:11) if not the earth from which the Truth was born. The earth, on account of its stability, is called the blessed Virgin; the green plant was Christ in his infancy; the tree was Christ in his youth, and the fruit he brought forth not only in his preaching and in his passion, but in every one of his actions."[59] Cadwgan shows, in this meditation, not only a supple and well-trained familiarity with the Scriptures but also a knowledge of the works of Augustine, whose *De Trinitate, Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium,* and *De consensu evangelistarum* he invokes.

The last item to be attributed to Cadwgan in this manuscript is a litany addressed to the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, who comforted Isaiah in his exile saying, "I will bridle your mouth with my praise, lest you perish" ("Infrenabo os tuum laude mea ne pereas"; cf. Is 48:9).[60] The litany comprises

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[56] "Quis, item, pro nobis tam efficaciter peroraret in conspectu Dei ut Filius Dei? Quis pro fragilitate nostra melius allegaret, quoniam Deus ipse fragilitates nostras expertus? . . ." (Talbot, "Cadogan of Bangor," 33–36 [quotation from 35]).

[57] "In hiis et circa hec uersetur lectoris pii deuota meditatio, que rei consistentia fidelius concipere poterit, quam uerbis queat explicari. Plus enim in talibus potest humilis deuotio, quam uerborum compositio" (ibid., 36).

[58] Ibid., 24; text printed on 36–39.

[59] "Que autem est terra germinans herbam uirentem et lignum faciens fructum, nisi terra de qua orta est ueritas: Terra enim propter sui stabilitatem dicitur beata uirgo. Herba autem uirens erat Christus in infantia: lignum uero in iuuentute, fructum autem fecit non solum in predicatione et passione, set in omni ipsius actione" (ibid., 38).

[60] Ibid., 39–40. The Vulgate reads "Propter nomen meum longe faciam furorem meum; et laude mea infrenabo te, ne intereas" (Is 48:9); Cadwgan seems rather to be quoting the

some sixty lines of praise on the model

> **Infrena, Domine, ora nostra** Laude tue immense dulcedinis, **ne pereamus.**
> **Infrena, Domine, ora nostra** Laude tue immense claritatis, **ne pereamus.**

Like Cadwgan's other works, the *De modo confitendi* is found today in a single thirteenth-century copy, preserved in MS 22 (L. 8) of Dulwich College in London.[61] It is bound together in this codex with other works of instruction for the pastoral care of souls, especially works concerning preaching and the hearing of confessions. It is preceded by a number of anonymous sermons and by the *Lucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis, and it is followed in the manuscript by the pastoral *summa Qui bene presunt* of Richard of Wetheringsett, by excerpts from Raymund of Peñafort's *Summa de penitentia,* and by Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei.*

Cadwgan's treatise on confession, printed here for the first time, is an early example of a type of literature which would become widespread as the century progressed.[62] Written before 1236, his is one of a mere handful of examples surviving from the first half of the thirteenth century of confessional "formularies," designed to give the priest very specific and practical advice on the hearing confessions in their parishes.[63]

The treatise can be divided into five parts. In the first, comprising §§1–5, Cadwgan discusses the conditions of a fruitful penance.[64] He begins with a description of the fifteen "steps" of penance leading to the heavenly Jerusalem as described by "Augustine." Cadwgan copied this discussion, without acknowledgment, from the chapter entitled "Quomodo possit cognosci uere penitens" of Robert of Courçon's *Tota celestis philosophia.*[65] Courçon's *summa,* written at Paris between 1208 and 1213, is an important contribution to the scholastic

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prophet's words as recalled by Bernard in his Sermon 11 (2) on the Song of Songs (ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera,* vol. 1 [Rome, 1957], 55).

[61] The manuscript is described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries,* vol. 1: *London* (Oxford, 1969), 42–46.

[62] The best general survey of this literature remains, Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII–XVI siècles)* (Louvain, 1962).

[63] For a general introduction to such practical guides, see Joseph Goering and Pierre J. Payer, "The 'Summa penitentie Fratrum Predicatorum': A Thirteenth-Century Confessional Formulary," *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 1–50.

[64] For a detailed treatment of this theme in the literature of this period, see Bella Millett, "*Ancrene wisse* and the Conditions of Confession," *English Studies* 80 (1999): 193–215.

[65] On Robert and his *summa,* see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle,* 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), 1:19–25. Robert's *summa* has never been printed in its entirety, but its contents are described by Vincent L. Kennedy, "The Contents of Courson's Summa," *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947): 81–107. The chapter borrowed by Cadwgan is published by Kennedy, "Robert Courson on Penance," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945): 291–336 at 301–2.

theological and canonical literature; that Cadwgan knew of it, even if at second hand, and chose to begin his confessional handbook with a long excerpt, suggests that he was a receptive reader of the latest teachings of the schools. The direct borrowings from Courçon end with §4, and Cadwgan adds in §5 another list of twelve "circumstances" or conditions to complement the list of fifteen that has just been explicated. This second list derives ultimately from the popular didactic poem on confession composed by William de Montibus, chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral from ca. 1180 to 1213,[66] but Cadwgan's immediate source is more likely a work by William's younger contemporary, Robert Grosseteste, whose confessional treatise *Perambulauit Iudas,* is the main source of the second part of Cadwgan's treatise.[67]

Sections 6 to 20 of the treatise edited below are closely related to sections 26 to 35 of Grosseteste's *Perambulauit Iudas . . . (Speculum confessionis).* The direction of borrowing is not easily established. The composition of both treatises can be assigned to the same time period, 1215×1235, and a plausible case can be made for either author's borrowing from the other. Indeed, if Grosseteste was associated with the schools and the diocese of Hereford in the early decades of the thirteenth century, as has been argued cogently by Richard Southern, opportunities may have existed for personal interactions between the two scholars.[68] That Grosseteste is known to have composed other confessional treatises, and that his works had a wider circulation than Cadwgan's, perhaps lead to the supposition that Cadwgan borrowed from Grosseteste,[69] but it is not impossible that Grosseteste adapted Cadwgan's treatise for use in his own *Perambulauit Iudas . . . (Speculum confessionis).*[70] Cadwgan's organization of

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[66] William de Montibus, *Peniteas cito peccator,* lines 53–55, ed. Joseph Goering in *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care,* Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto, 1992), 125. See also Millett, *"Ancrene wisse,"* 198–201.

[67] The verse is found in Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "The 'Perambulauit Iudas . . .' (Speculum confessionis) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste," *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 125–68 at 167. On Grosseteste's career, see R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe,* 2d ed. (Oxford, 1992).

[68] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste,* 63–82.

[69] On Grosseteste's penitential writings, see Joseph Goering, "When and Where did Grosseteste Study Theology," in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on his Thought and Scholarship,* ed. James McEvoy (Turnhout, 1995), 17–51. Especially important in this context is Grosseteste's treatise *De modo confidendi,* ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112, which is closely related to the *Perambulauit Iudas* and thus to Cadwgan's treatise.

[70] Grosseteste's treatise is actually a two-part treatise. In the first part he provides a "forma confessionis" for a learned recipient (§§1–24) and in the second a "speculum confessionis" for the simpler brothers ("propter simpliciores fratres"; §§25–41). The first part bears all the signs of Grosseteste's style and interests, but the second part—the part shared with

the material differs slightly from that found in the extant copies of Grosse-
teste's treatise. Whereas Grosseteste separates the enumeration of the species
of all seven principal sins (§26) from the interrogatory designed to elicit a fruit-
ful confession of each (§§27–34), Cadwgan combines the two. He first lists the
species of Pride (§6), and then the questions ("exigentie") to be asked con-
cerning Pride (§7), before moving on to the species of Envy (§8). Cadwgan's
lists of species of sins and of questions are briefer than Grosseteste's, but the
materials they share are nearly identical both in content and in word order. It is
not possible to establish at present whether Grosseteste has supplemented
Cadwgan's material or Cadwgan has excerpted Grosseteste's.

A third part of Cadwgan's *De modo confitendi,* comprising §§21–22, is sig-
naled by the rubrics "De peccato in Deum," and "Peccatum in Spiritum Sanc-
tum." The rubrics are somewhat misleading, and fail to describe accurately the
contents of these two sections. The closest parallel to the topics addressed here
is found in the *Summa de penitentia* of Raymund of Peñafort, a text whose
first edition was composed ca. 1222, and which is known to have circulated in
England soon thereafter.[71] A reliance on Raymund's *summa* would account for
the materials in §21, and for the first ten items in §22. No source or parallel for
the remainder of §22, or for the fourth part of Cadwgan's treatise has yet been
identified.

The fourth part, §§23–33, is potentially the most revealing of Cadwgan's
own interests. The rubrics indicate correctly that these chapters concern the
sins of the cloister, in particular, "Sin in regard to the offices of the cloister"
(§23), "Sin in regard to cloistered persons" (§24), and then a reprise of each of
the seven principal sins as they are found particularly among the cloistered
(§§25–33). No sources or parallels for these lists have yet been identified.

The final section of Cadwgan's treatise (§34) consists of six lines of verse
summarizing the cases in which a simple priest or chaplain may not himself
absolve a penitent but must send the penitent on to higher authority for absolu-
tion. These verses were very popular in England during the thirteenth century.
Their earliest occurrence identified thus far is in the *Summa de penitentia* of
John of Kent, ca. 1215,[72] but Cadwgan is most likely to have encountered them

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Cadwgan's *De modo confitendi*—is more generic, and might have been adapted from pre-
existing materials.

[71] See the recent edition, *S. Raimundus de Pennaforte: Summa de paenitentia,* ed. X.
Ochoa and A. Diez, Universa bibliotheca iuris 1, B (Rome, 1976). On the circulation of this
summa in England, see Joseph Goering, "The *Summa* of Master Serlo and Thirteenth-Century
Penitential Literature," *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 290–311 at 290–92.

[72] A copy of this unpublished *summa* is found in London, British Library Royal 9.A.xiv;
the verses are on fol. 231vb. On John of Kent, see Joseph Goering, "The 'Summa de peniten-
tia' of John of Kent," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law,* n.s., 18 (1988): 13–31.

in the *summa Qui bene presunt* of Richard of Wetheringsett, written ca. 1220.[73] A copy of the *Qui bene presunt* follows immediately after Cadwgan's *De modo confitendi* in the Dulwich College manuscript.[74] The verses are also found in the *Summa de penitentia* of Master Serlo, written in England soon after 1234.[75] In the treatise on confession, *Omnis etas hominis,* composed for the clergy of the diocese of Worcester in 1240, shortly after Cadwgan's resignation from the see of Bangor, one finds an exposition of the cases, but without the accompanying verses.[76]

This little treatise is an excellent example of the kinds of literature created in the early years of the thirteenth century to help instruct priests in the new art of hearing confessions. Its four folios of text fit neatly into the ubiquitous medieval "quaternion" or notebook (created by folding a single piece of parchment twice), and thus could be easily copied and carried, and just as easily lost or discarded after use. It summarizes neatly the key points of the sacrament of penance, and includes examples of the kinds of questions that a confessor ought to keep in mind when hearing confessions. And, perhaps most importantly, it helps to shed new light on the interests and activities of Cadwgan of Bangor and his contemporaries.

The text is transcribed from the unique copy in London, Dulwich College MS 22 (L. 8), fols. 46r–49r. The authors wish to thank Dr. J. Piggott and the Wodehouse Library, Dulwich College, London, for making the manuscript available to us. The edition below reproduces the orthography of the manuscript, with the exception that the use of the letters *u* and *v* and the letters *c* and

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[73] A copy of this unpublished *summa* is found in London, British Library Royal 9.A.xiv; the verses are found on fol. 79va. On Richard of Wetheringsett and his very popular treatise, see Joseph Goering, "The Summa 'Qui bene presunt' and Its Author," in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel,* ed. Richard G. Newhauser and John A. Alford (Binghamton, 1995), 143–59.

[74] See Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1:43. The copy of *Qui bene presunt* in this manuscript ends abruptly at the end of a quire in the middle of the treatise, and just short of the place where one would expect to find the verses on reserved cases quoted by Cadwgan.

[75] See Joseph Goering, ed., "The *Summa de penitentia* of Magister Serlo," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 1–53 at 9. On Master Serlo and his treatise, see Joseph Goering, "The *Summa* of Master Serlo and Thirteenth-Century Penitential Literature," passim.

[76] This *summa* is printed by Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods* 2:1059–77 under the title "1287? Summula of Peter Quinel or Quivel, bishop of Exeter." The exposition of the cases reserved for episcopal absolution is in c. 32, pp. 1072–73. On Walter de Cantilupe's original issuing of the treatise in Worcester diocese and its reissue by Peter Quinel in Exeter, see Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, "The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 576–94.

t has been regularized according to modern practice in order to minimize confusion. Punctuation has also been added according to modern practice, and section numbers have been added for convenience of reference. Rubrics in the manuscript are denoted by SMALL CAPS. Editorial emendations are signaled by the following conventions: suggested additions to the text are printed inside angle brackets (⟨ ⟩); letters in the text that should be ignored are enclosed within square brackets ([ ]); illegible or indecipherable letters are represented here by daggers (†††).

In identifying Cadwgan's sources we have noted the particular relevance of Robert of Courçon's *Summa,* Robert Grosseteste's treatise on confession, *Perambulauit Iudas,* and Raymund of Peñafort's *Summa de penitentia.* In the edition below we have generally retained the reading of our manuscript unless it is clearly in error. In the textual notes we have included variant readings from Courçon, Grosseteste, and Peñafort where these offer important alternatives, or where they might affect the meaning of the text. We have sometimes supplemented Grosseteste's *Perambulauit Iudas* with readings from a closely related work by Grosseteste, the *De modo confitendi.* The following abbreviations are used:

Courçon = Robert of Courçon, *Summa* (partial edition by Vincent L. Kennedy, "Robert Courson on Penance," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 [1945]: 291–336)

De modo confitendi = Robert Grosseteste, *De modo confitendi* (ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 [1987]: 52–112)

Perambulauit Iudas = Robert Grosseteste, *Perambulauit Iudas* (ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "The 'Perambulauit Iudas . . .' [Speculum confessionis] Attributed to Robert Grosseteste," *Revue Bénédictine* 96 [1986]: 125–68)

Peñafort = Raymund of Peñafort, *Summa de penitentia* (ed. X. Ochoa and A. Diez, *S. Raimundus de Pennaforte: Summa de paenitentia,* Universa bibliotheca iuris 1, B [Rome, 1976]; column numbers in parentheses).

HIC INCIPIT TRACTATUS DOMINI CADUCANI BARGORNENSIS EPISCOPI
DE MODO CONFITENDI

1. Notandum quod uere penitentes possunt agnosci per hoc quod docet
Augustinus in libro de penitentia,[77] quibus elicitur quod xv gradibus dingne
5 penitentie ascenditur in Ierusalem celestem. Gradus autem, secundum Augusti-
num, nichil aliud est quam profectus; ascendere uero nichil nisi proficere. Ille
siquidem penitens qui dolet pro peccato et uerecundatur, et dolet pro eo, et se
humiliat pro eodem peccato, iam est in tribus gradibus. Nam in omni peccato
precipue sunt tria: delectatio, inpudentia, superbia. Et contra hec, quia con-
10 traria contrariis curantur, debet penitentia esse amara, uerecunda, et humilis.
2. Item debet esse uoluntaria, id est ex deuotione mentis procedens, et fide-
lis, id est in fide ecclesie facta, non secundum doctrinam hereticorum. Et quia
nec generalem, nec specialem, neque indiuidualem potest notitiam commit-
tere,[78] ideo exhiguntur adhuc tres gradus: ut sit generalis, comprehendens om-
15 nes species peccatorum, sic "confiteor omnia"; et specialis, comprehendens
omnes species peccatorum, ut "confiteor de periurio, adulterio, de inani gloria,"
et sic de aliis; et indiuidualis, ut per indiuidua fiat confessio, ut "confiteor de
hac uel illa confessione[79]" etc.
3. Preter hos viii gradus coexiguntur adhuc septem, scilicet ut fit hillaris,
20 morosa, propria, acusatoria, frequens, integra, uera. Vera, ut nichil admiscens
simultatis,[80] nichil omittens de contingentibus, immo omnia nude et aperte,
prout gesta sunt, confiteantur. Hillaris, ne fiat cum tristitia et solum timore
pene, set magis uirtutis amore; tristitia enim seculi mortem operatur,[81] ut dicit
Augustinus, contritio uero salutem. Morosa, ne in transcursu fiat sic: "Ego
25 commisi hoc peccatum, et hoc, et hoc," ad modum combinatorum numero per

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19 hos viii] has v MS   24 Augustinus] *rectius* Apostolus *(cf. 2 Cor 7:10)*

3–48 Notandum quod . . . aliis (§§1–4): cf. *Courçon* 1.4 (301–2).
5–6 Gradus . . . proficere: cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 119.1–2 (ed. E. Dek-
kers and J. Fraipont, CCL 40 [Turnhout, 1956], 1776–79).

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[77] On the attribution to Augustine, see Millett, "*Ancrene Wisse*," 196–98; and see 193–
215 for a magisterial discussion of the literature on the "conditions of confession" listed here.
[78] Cf. *Courçon:* ". . . nec genus nec species nec indiuidualem peccati notitiam debet
omittere."
[79] Cf. *Courçon:* "fornicatione."
[80] Cf. *Courçon:* "falsitatis."
[81] Cf. *Courçon:* ". . . ne fiat cum tristicia que, teste apostolo, mortem operatur."

innumeras numero;[82] ut acutius pungant et eum magis tereant, cum maxima
diligentia et morositate euomantur. Propria, ut non fit alium set se ipsum
accusans; unde Psalmus ⟨55,9⟩: "Deus, uitam meam annuntiaui tibi." Ecce,
dicit meam, non alterius. Accusatoria, ut dicat factum ex propria malitia per-
30 petratum, et non pretendere excusationem potestatis,[83] sicut primi parentes.
Immo etiam in duobus quasi pro certas se debet accusare, et sic intelligendum
est quod dicunt Augustinus et Gregorius: "Bonarum mentium est culpam
noscere ubi culpa forte non est," set mentiri uel aperte dicere falsum scienter
non debet.[84] Frequens, ut quotiens cadit peccator, totiens per penitentiam re-
35 surgat; et non sicut rusticus de anno in annum differt peccatum confiteri, cum
dicatur: "Omne peccatum quod non per penitentiam statim diluitur, suo pon-
dere ad aliud trahit."[85] Integra, ne sit diuisa per plures sacerdotes. Unde uersus:

Quis, quid, ubi, per quos, quotiens, cur, quomodo, quando.

Debet enim sacerdos attendere que sit persona confitens, et factum quod con-
40 fitetur, et locum: an sit sanctus,[86] an sit prophanus; et quot et qui adiutores et
socii, et quotiens, et causam: utrum ex feruore etatis uel aliter; et modum:
utrum secundum naturam uel contra; et tempus: utrum sacro tempore uel in
alio.
   4. Et sciendum est quod ista xv debent attendi in contritione et satisfactione
45 sicut in oris confessione suo modo: ⟨Morosa⟩ quia elemosina debet esse
amara,[87] prouocans amaritudinem pro peccatis; generalis quia de omnibus que
possidet; propria quia non de rapina uel malo lucro; accusatoria, unde "Cum
omnia feceritis dicite, Serui inutiles sumus," etc., et sic de aliis.
   5. Item, alii uersus circumstantiarum:

50   Aggrauat ordo, locus, peccata, scientia, tempus,
             Etas, conditio, mora, copia, causa,
             Et modus in culpa, status altus, lucta pusilla.

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46 amaritudinem] amorem MS

47–48 Lc 17:10.
49–52 Item . . . pusilla: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 39 (167).

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[82] Cf. *Courçon:* ". . . ad modum cambitoris nummos numerantis; immo. . . ."
[83] Cf. *Courçon:* "Accusatoria: ut dicat peccatum ex propria malicia patratum se in hoc
plurimum accusando, et non pretendere excusationem in peccatis. . . ."
[84] *Courçon* does not include "Immo . . . debet"; see Millett, "*Ancrene Wisse*," 212.
[85] The quotation is ascribed to Jerome in *Courçon;* the source is Gregory the Great,
Moralia in Iob 25.9.22 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143B [Turnhout, 1985], 1247).
[86] Cf. *Courçon:* "sacerdos."
[87] Cf. *Courçon:* "devota."

6. Species superbie. Vana gloria, iactantia, ypocrisis, irreuerentia, in-
obedientia, inpudentia, presumptio, contentio, inpatientia, indingnatio, con-
55 tumelias, arrogantia, loquacitas, blasfemie, scandalum, curiositas, adulatio
tam dando | quam recipiendo, nimia humilitas atque deiectio sui uel suorum.   46v
7. Exigentie. Scienter Deum offendisti? Superbus fuisti de nobilitate san-
guinis, uel de pulcritudine, uel de fortitudine, uel ingenio, uel subtili sensu, uel
eloquentia, uel bona uoce, uel arte cantandi, uel scientia,[88] uel honoribus, uel
60 diuitiis, uel de balliua aliqua, uel de familiaritate uel amore alicuius potentis,
uel domine uel domicelle, uel de fama, uel de bonis uirtutibus, sicut de humi-
litate, uel de pietate et patientia et paupertate spirituali, largitate, et talibus
sanctitatibus, uel de alico quod dixisti uel gessisti uel sustinuisti? Bona gratuita
uel naturalia tibi attribuisti? Credisti a Deo data tantum pro meritis? Iactasti te
65 habere quod non habuisti, uel dixisse uel fecisse quod non fecisti? Ceteris
despectis, singularis uideri uoluisti quod habuisti, uel dixisti, uel gessisti, uel
sustinuisti? De te presumens, alios iudicasti? Inanis glorie cupidus fuisti? Per
ypocrisim peccasti? Doctrinam uel correptionem contempsisti? Luxus capillo-
rum uel ornatus exterioris insolens fuisti? Alium quam natiuum colorem in fa-
70 cie quesiuisti? Inobediens ecclesie et prelatis eius, uel parentibus, uel dominis
⟨uel⟩ potestatibus, uel uiro tuo fuisti? De superioribus tuis non sublimiter sen-
sisti, quod est irreuerentia? Obedientia, scilicet in exterioribus tarde uel cum
murmure obedisti? Indingnationem de aliquo, uel de dicto uel de facto alicuius,
concepisti? Te uel tuos uel rem tuam nimium commendasti? Per insolentiam
75 dicendo uel faciendo modum excessisti, nolens aliis assimulari? Inpudenter te
habuisti? Presumptuose aliquid usurpasti? Contendisti cum oprobriis et crimi-
nis obiectu? Aliquem lesisti? Inpatiens fuisti? Contumaciter prosecutus es quod
concepisti? Contumax fuisti? Item aliquid superbe arrogasti? Loquax fuisti in
uerbis otiosis, fatuis et risum monentibus, turpis et libidinosis atque laciuiis,
80 irrisoriis, despectiuis, adulatoriis, falsis, dubiis, minatoriis? De cantilenis, rith-
mis, fabulis te intromisisti, uel alii per te? Scandalum generari[89] paruipendisti?
Incessu superbo uel alico gestu corporis peccasti? Nimis te depressisti, uel
dicta tua, uel facta tua? Vel aues, uel canes, uel huiusmodi minime dilexisti?[90]

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83 minime] *forte rectius* nimis

53–56 Species . . . suorum: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (158).
57–83 Scienter . . . dilexisti: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 28–29 (159–61); *De modo confitendi*
1.12 (82).

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[88] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "scribendi."
[89] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "generare."
[90] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "Canes, uel aues, uel huiusmodi nobilitates seculi amasti."

8. SPECIES INVIDIE. Ingratitudo, malingnitas, inuentio mali, comminatio,
85 ⟨s⟩cisma, discordia, iudicium temerarium, proditio, odium, gaudium de malo,
dolor de bono. De bono inquam fortune, uel nature, [uel fortune] uel gratie.
Inhumanitas, murmur, detractio dicendo uel audiendo, derisio, accusatio,
querela iniusta, deprauatio, discordie seminatio, malitia cordis, indingnatio.

9. EXIGENTIE. De proximi tui quacumque felicitate doluisti, uel de bono
90 siue fortune, siue nature, siue gratie? Vel de eius malo solatium habuisti, uel
habuisses si ei in alico malo in alico accidisset? Prelationem alicuius uel co-
equationem moleste tulisti? Inferior, ne tibi parificaretur, timuisti? Opere, con-
silio, auxilio uel quocumque modo per inuidiam famam alicuius diminuisti, uel
malum augmentasti, uel ad hoc studuisti? Noluisti aliquem instruere uel cor-
95 ripere propter inuidiam, uel premunire eum de malo cauendo uel bono ad-
quirendo? Non rectis oculis aspexisti aliquem, uel aduersus aliquem irruens, de
eo malitiose ridendo propter inuidiam?

10. SPECIES IRE. Iniuria, litigium, odium, inprecatio, rancor, oprobria, blas-
phemie, mine, percussio, uulnus, amaritudo, cecitas mentis, presumptio, furor,
100 clamor, inordinatio gestuum, corruptio sanitatis et augmentum egritudinis in se
et in aliis, omissio faciendorum, perpetratio non faciendorum per impetum ire.

11. EXIGENTIE. Erga aliquem per iram nimis motus fuisti? Illum rixis,
opprobriis, contumeliis, uel criminis obiectu lesisti? Odio habuisti? Iratum ad
iracundiam prouocasti? Mortem uel dampnum eius operando, consulendo, uel
105 alico modo procurasti uel desiderasti, uel non doluisti? Maledicens male-
dictionem executionem subsequi uoluisti? Manus misisti in aliquem animo
malignandi? Blasphemasti aliquem?

12. SPECIES ACCIDIE. Inmoderatus dolor, planctus, murmur in Deum siue
inuectio, superstitio, ingnauia, desidia, negligentia, inprouidentia, incircum-
110 spectio, rancor, inpusillanimitas, desperatio, remissio in alico bono, taciturnitas
mala, obstinatio, fractio uotorum.

13. EXIGENTIE. Neglexisti addiscere simbolum, uel orationem dominicam,
uel aliquid aliud propter negligentiam? Propter | pigritiam orare siue ire ad   47r
ecclesiam, aut surgere et uerba predicationis audire? Tedium boni habuisti?

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98 inprecatio] interpretatio MS

84–88 Ingratitudo . . . indingnatio: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (158–59).
89–97 De proximi . . . inuidiam: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 30 (161).
98–101 Iniuria . . . ire: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (158); *De modo confitendi* 1.32, 1.34
(88, 89).
102–7 Erga . . . aliquem: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 29 (161).
108–11 Inmoderatus . . . uotorum: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (159).
112–29 Neglexisti . . . dissolutus: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 31 (161–62).

115 Otium dilexisti cum effectu? Opera domini negligenter fecisti? Parentes non
honorasti? Maritus uxori sufficienter non exhibuisti? Pro posse tuo non in-
struxisti prolem? Cum debito affectu non educasti? Competenter non instruxisti
et pro tempore non coripuisti? Illicita uouisti, et eorum executor[91] fuisti uel non
fuisti? Licita uota non soluisti? Unquam nimia tristitia absortus desperasti,
120 animam uel uitam paruipendisti? Alicuius legati uel legationis, uel alieni tibi
iniuncti negotii negligens executor fuisti? Domus uel familie dispensator,
ecclesiarum rector negligens in docendo, corripiendo, subueniendo, [sub-
ueniendo] administrando, orando? Nunquid ex negligentia tua aliqua offensa
accidit, uel in officio diuino uel sacramentis, ut in baptismo omittere crisma,
125 uel oleum, uel aliquid tale; uel in sacramento altaris ignem, uel uinum, uel
aquam, uel stolam, uel manipulum, uel aliquid de canone. Protelasti confiteri
post lapsum? Remissius egisti aliquid, uel correxisti? Propter desidiam a bono
tacuisti? Sompnolentus, uagus, curiosus, uerbosus, facilis ad offendendum,
pusillanimus, grauis uultu atque ponderosus fuisti, uel nimis dissolutus?
130   14. SPECIES AVARITIE. Rapina, furtum, iniusta exactio, fraus, circumuen-
tio, ambitio, filargiria, inquietatio, calumpnia, periurium, falsum testimonium,
mendacium, ⟨yatus⟩ ad lucrum,[92] inhumanitas, usura, simonia, incendium,
homicidium, depopulationes, infelicitas,[93] proditio.
    15. EXIGENTIE. Unquam retinuisti per auaritiam quod non debuisti, uel
135 aliena male adeptus es iocando, serio,[94] clam uel palam, per calumpniam uel
exactionem iniustam? Si amore lucri odio uel timore alicuius fuisti iudex cor-
reptus,[95] uel aduocatus, uel assessor; uel falsum iudicium inpedire potuisti et
noluisti? Concupisti rem uisam? Aliquo modo symoniam uel usuram com-
misisti? Rem acomodatam uel alienam retinuisti? In contractu[96] aliquo quem-
140 piam circumuenisti? Aliquid habuisti a Iudeo, uel latrone, uel uxore, uel seruo
alieno, uel usurario? Redditus, uel talenta, uel pignus, uel decimas, uel in
aliqua re detinuisti?[97] Dampnis alienis aliquomodo consensisti? Legumina uel

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120 legati] legari MS   131 calumpnia] columpnia MS

130–33 Rapina . . . proditio: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (159).
134–50 Unquam . . . reddidisti: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 32 (162–63).

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[91] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "exactor."
[92] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "yatus ad lucra."
[93] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "infidelitas."
[94] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "adeptus es, laqueando."
[95] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "corruptus."
[96] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "causa."
[97] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "Redditus, thelonia, pingnus, decimas ex aliqua re detenuisti."

fructus uel cibum uel potum aliquo modo furatus es, uel candelas in ecclesia?
Inquietasti aliquem in extorquendo ab eo quod uenderet uel daret? Munuscula
145 libenter suscepisti? In exercitu iniuste et expeditione aliquid a paupere uel a
religiosa persona rapuisti uel habuisti, uel carnale commercium aliquid dedisti
uel suscepisti? Scurris et lecatoribus aliquid dedisti? In uanitate et superfluitate
pecuniam expendisti? Sine delectu et iudicio beneficii[98] contulisti? Indigenti
iuuando non affuisti? Cum misero misericordiam non fecisti? Libenter non ac-
150 comodasti pecuniam uel non reddidisti?[99]

16. SPECIES GULE. Prepropere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.
Introducit etiam torporem, sompnolentiam, nauseam, uomitum; affert usum
membrorum, obtundit ingenium, ⟨h⟩ebetat uisum.

17. EXIGENTIE. Ebrietas est actio infinitorum malorum. Ad hoc prouocasti
155 aliquem per malitiam uel per inanem gloriam?

18. SPECIES LUXURIE. Prodigalitas, inpudentia, luxuria,[100] petulantia, titu-
batio, blanditie, delicie, uoluptas, dissolutio, inbecillitas, scurilitas, mendacia,
iuramenta, lesio fidei, inimicitie, dispendia tam spiritualia quam corporalia.[101]

19. EXIGENTIE. Fornicatio, incendium,[102] adulterium perpetrasti? Cum me-
160 retrice te polluisti? Virginem deflorasti? Excitasti in te affectus libidinis? In
cogitatione libidinosa et morosa delectatus fuisti? Pudenda inpudenter trac-
tasti? Unquam extra uas ultro effudisti? Aliquo modo diligentiam adhibuisti ut
libidini satisfaceres? Per sompnum pollutus fuisti? Quomodo? Aliquas
precatus es uigilando? | Concupisti? Voluisti concupisci? Ob hoc te unquam 47v
165 ornasti? Quomodo? Fornicantibus consensisti? Consilium uel auxilium dedisti?
In pueritia aliquid sinistrum luxuriose egisti? Aliquam inpudenter tractasti uel
tractare[103] permisisti? Inordinate osculatus es? Locutus fuisti[104] per singna
scurriliter et petulanter? Fixis oculis laciuis in aliquam inspexisti? Sortilegia

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151 gule] luxurie MS

151–53 Prepropere . . . uisum: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (159).
154–55 Ad hoc . . . gloriam: cf. *De modo confitendi* 1.17 ("Si ad hoc [sc. gula] pro-
vocaverit per malitiam vel inanem gloriam," 85); cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 33 (163).
156–58 Prodigalitas . . . corporalia: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 26 (159).
159–74 Fornicatio . . . huiusmodi: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 34 (164).

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[98] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "beneficium."
[99] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "recondisti."
[100] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "laciuia."
[101] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "temporalia."
[102] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "Fornicacionem, incestum. . . ."
[103] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "uel te tractari."
[104] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas:* "siue."

uel incantationes pro huiusmodi exercuisti? Inconstans corpore extitisti? Allea-
170 tor uel ⟨h⟩istrio fuisti uel talos exhibuisti? Coreis uel spectaculis quibuscumque
libenter interfuisti? Excusse risisti, uel alios admonuisti?[105] Conceptionem con-
silio uel auxilio inpediuisti? Conceptum adnichilare uel necare studuisti? Par-
tum interemisti? Permisisti infantulos assuescere iurationibus, imprecationibus,
scurilibus et huiusmodi.

175   20. EXIGENTIE DE INIURIIS SACRAMENTORUM. In fide errasti? In aliquo
articulo? Presens fuisti ubi infans sine baptismo discessit?[106] Formam ba⟨p⟩ti-
zandi in necessitatis articulo ingnorasti? Ignorans simbolum, aliquem de sacro
fonte leuasti? Simbolum et orationem dominicam filios spirituales docere ne-
glexisti? ⟨Neglexisti⟩ confirmari te uel tuos? Post lapsum confiteri neglexisti?[107]
180 In mortali peccato commoratus es? Simulatione[108] ad confessionem accessisti?
[In mortali peccato commoratus es?] Peccata dimisisti, uel circumstantias ultro
siluisti, uel minus plene expressisti? Iniunctam penitentiam facere omisisti?
Tuo consilio uel auxilio, uel tua presentia te sciente[109] aliqui illegitime con-
traxerunt, uel tales nouisti et non dixisti. Sacerdos in mortali confecisti,[110] uel
185 clericus ministrasti in altari? Per ingluuiem eucharistiam euomisti? Intercessisti
ut ordinaretur indingnus, uel ut ad honorem aliquem promoueretur? Digno
restitisti aliquo modo? In clericum manus uiolentas iniecisti? Clericis
detraxisti? Sacrilegium commisisti? Dies festos non obseruasti? Sacris rebus et
locis reuerentiam non exhibuisti? In oratorio fecisti aliquid nisi orationi in-
190 sistere? Fuisti negligens circa sacramenta, et confessionem, et predicationem, et
uisitationem infirmorum, et officium et ornatum ecclesiasticum?

         21. DE PECCATO IN DEUM. Simonia in ordinibus, in beneficiis, in electione,
in religione, in magisterio, in officiis commissis, in exequendis et sacramentis
uendendis. Et fit simonia a manu, a lingua, ab officio indebito. Item, paganis-
195 mus uel idolatria, iudaismus. Hereticus autem quatuor modis dicitur, scilicet

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173 imprecationibus] interpretationibus MS

175–91 In fide errasti . . . ecclesiasticum: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 35 (165).
192–94 De peccato in Deum . . . indebito: cf. *Peñafort*, Proem. et 1.1.1–4 (277–82).
194–95 Item, paganismus . . . iudasmus: cf. *Peñafort* 1.4 (308–17).
195–99 Hereticus . . . sacramenta: cf. *Peñafort* 1.5 (317, 318).

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[105] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas*: "commouisti."
[106] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas*: "decessit."
[107] *Perambulauit Iudas* does not include "Neglexisti confirmari . . . neglexisti"; cf. *De modo confitendi* 19 (86).
[108] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas*: "In mortali peccato communicasti. Simulate. . . ."
[109] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas*: "uel te presente et sciente."
[110] Cf. *Perambulauit Iudas*: "celebrasti."

errans a fide, falsam oppinionem gingnans uel tenens. Item, qui aliter intelli-
gunt sanctam scripturam quam Spiritus sanctus flagitat. Item, a sacramentis
ecclesie uel communione diuisus. Item, peruersor sacramentorum, ut simonia-
cus uendens uel emens sacramenta. ⟨S⟩cisma uel[111] dissensio eorum illicita inter
200 quos debet esse unitas. Apostasia, id est retensus a flatu diuino uel Deo.
    22. PECCATUM IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM.[112] Transgressio uotorum, per-
iurium, mendacium, sortilegium, augurium, diuinatio, temporum uel rerum uel
horarum obseruatio, demonum inuocatio, nigromantia, feriarum uiolentia. Ob-
stinatio[113] de presumptione uel desperatione orta, uel gratie uel diuine uel
205 superne caritatis ignite uel ueritatis inpugnatio. Omissio traditionum Dei prop-
ter humanas traditiones. Odium acusationis uel coreptionis. Proprietas rerum
uel proprii consilii uel proprie uoluntatis. Consilii a pari uel a minori refutatio.
Primi furoris extinctio. Austeritas quo ad prelatos. Vultuositas. Cordis anxietas
cum conturbatione. Indiscreta penitentie iniunctio cum litigio correptionis.
210 Timor humanus et seruilis. Ypocrisis. Debilitas spiritus contra temptationes et
molestias. Fortitudo carnis in deliciis et uoluptatibus. Stulta securitas. Inpatien-
tia. Incompassio. Defectus zeli animarum. Infidelitas. Dissolutio. Irreuerentia
maioribus. Acceptio personarum.
    23. PECCATUM QUO AD CLAUSTRALIUM OFFICIA.[114] Cupiditas cum aua-

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    199–200 Scisma . . . unitas: cf. *Peñafort* 1.6 (327).
    200 Apostasia . . . Deo: cf. *Peñafort* 1.7 ("Apostasia est temerarius a statu fidei, oboedien-
tiae vel religionis recessus," 331).
    201 Transgressio uotorum: cf. *Peñafort* 1.8 (338–62).
    201–2 periurium: cf. *Peñafort* 1.9 (362–80).
    202 mendacium: cf. *Peñafort* 1.10 (380–86).
    202–3 sortilegium . . . nigromantia: cf. *Peñafort* 1.11 (386–94).
    203 feriarum uiolentia: cf. *Peñafort* 1.12 (394–401).

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    [111] Cf. *Peñafort:* "est."
    [112] The ten sins which follow in Cadwgan's text correspond to the sins discussed by
Peñafort 1.8–12 (338–401). Raymund makes it clear, however, that these sins are not directed
primarily against God (or the Holy Spirit): "De quibusdam criminibus dictum est quae directe
committuntur in Deum. Sequitur ut, ordine continuato, de quibusdam aliis subiciamus quae,
licet non adeo directe, in Deum similiter perpetrantur. Et primo de transgressione voti . . ."
(1.8 [339]).
    [113] No sources or analogues have been identified for the particular sins which follow.
    [114] For an earlier attempt to specify the sins to be confessed by monks, see William de
Montibus, *Speculum penitentis* 1.3, "De peccatis monachorum," in Joseph Goering, *William
de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto,
1992), 198–99; cf. idem, *De penitentia religiosorum* (ibid., 216–21). See also Peter of
Poitiers, *⟨Summa de confessione⟩ Compilatio Praesens* 42, "Quae inquirenda sunt specialiter
a religiosis" (ed. Jean Longére, CCCM 51 [Turnhout, 1980], 50–51), and, of course, the *Per-
ambulauit Iudas* of Robert Grosseteste, which is written for a monastic audience.

215 ritia. | Elatio ex officio. Garulitas superuacua. Iracundia cum dira respon-   48r
     sione. Debitorum repetitio cum scandalo. Prelatis suis peruersa suggestio.
     Accomodatorum et depositorum detentio. Pactionum precedentium et merce-
     dum et laborum retentio. Omissionum multiplicatio.
         24. PECCATUM QUO AD CLAUSTRALES. Violenta fractio. In minori bono uel
220 in indebito occupatio. Crudelis uel nimis subtilis predicatio. Post predicationem
     dissolutio. Curiositas librorum uel munusculorum et uestiment⟨or⟩um. Ad pre-
     dicandum nimia festinatio. Appetitus laudis et fauoris proprii. Contentiosa dis-
     putatio, et nimia familiaritas cum mulieribus. De rebus scolaribus inpertinens
     dispositio. Intractatorum casuum diffinitio temeraria. Inter fratres diuersi gene-
225 ris suspicio uel murmur. Torpor in diuino officio. Figmentum infirmitatis. Que-
     rela uel iactantia de labore. Odium claustri cum libidine uagandi. Accessus
     frequens ad locutorium. Amor infirmitorii cum accessu ibidem. Timor peni-
     tentie. Excusatio culpe. Inpatientia accusationis in capitulo. Murmur de cibo et
     potu. Detractio maioribus et minoribus et paribus. Filargiria munusculorum.
230 Carnalitas. Rumor. Secularium narratio uel auditio. Regule contemptus. Ad
     magisterium anelatio. Peccatorum adulatio. Confidentia de exteriori penitentia
     cum negligentia. Elatio de parentela, donis nature, diuitiis, nomine, factis, uel
     ex genere.
         25. SUPERBIA CLAUSTRALIUM. Inanis gloria de predicatione, disputatione,
235 et cantu. [De] Inobedientia prelatis, magistris, parentibus, maioribus, minori-
     bus, et irreuerentia eisdem. Contemptus Dei et hominum, doctorum et predica-
     torum. Iactantia de bonis factis uel malis, uel successionibus. Contentio, id est
     nolle uinci. Contumacia. Presumptio nouitatum uel donorum uel meriti. Ar-
     rogantia, que omnia sibi asscribit

240   Ex se, pro meritis, falso, plus omnibus inflat.[115]

     Loquacitas loquendo uel disputando, uel audacitas loquendi. Erectio colli,
     superciliorum, et oculorum. Curiositas scientie uel auium, uel canum, uel
     huiusmodi. Adulatio tam in dando quam in accipiendo et seruiendo. Libido
     dominandi. Ambitio glorie. Gloriatio in prosperis. Voluntas proprius sensus
245 prouidentia. Ypocrisis, cuius filie sunt simulatio et dissimulatio. Omnium [de]
     defectuum occultatio. Bonorum ostensio uel ostentatio, ut cantus, artis uel ope-
     rum. Pudor interrogandi. Pudor confitendi. Et labilis gestus eundo et equitando.

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226 Accessus] Accessens MS

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[115] A common verse summary of the characteristics of pride; cf. Gregory the Great, *Mora-
lia in Iob* 23.6.13 (ed. Adriaen, 1153–54); Thomas de Chobham, *Summa confessorum* 3.1.4
(ed. F. Broomfield [Louvain and Paris, 1968], 22).

Luxus uestium et accomodatio earum. Insolentia in uestibus, dictis, factis. Correctionis odium uel accusationis incorrigibilis. Adulationis amor. Prime sedis
250 appetitus, et primo consociorum ex contemptu uel defectu uel ingnobilitate
confusio. Pompositas uberorum uel familie. Prodigilitas. Temeritas iudiciorum.
Excusatio peccati uel defectuum defensio. Scandalum, et illud perpendere.
Nimia dilectio sui uel suorum. Inpudentia. Indignatio humilis gratiarum actionis. Recordatio culpe proprie in alium. Nimia commendatio amicorum et
255 generis. Terror in correctione.

26. PECCATUM INVIDIE. Exultatio in aduersis proximi. Afflictio in prosperis eius. Sussuratio, dicendo ambigua. Detractio, dicendo expresse incerta, uel
audiendo. Adinuentio mali. Incitamentatio mali. Multiplicatio mali. Proditio.
Interne gratie inpugnatio. Boni alieni diminutio. Facti alieni mala interpretatio
260 uel deprauatio. Oculorum aduersio. Ingratitudo beneficii accepti. Discordie
seminatio. | Co⟨n⟩iuratio. Conspiratio. Dissensio. Dolosa accusatio. Suspicio.   48v
Scisma. Derisio persone uel facti.

27. PECCATUM IRE. Tumor mentis uel rancor. Contumelie. Rixe. Iurgium
uel exprobratio. Clamor. Indingnatio et zelotipia. Blasphemie in Deum uel in
265 sanctos. Inpatientia, aliquando cum corporis et cordis tremore. Iniuria manualis
in laicos uel in clericos. Discordia, quando homo est discolus, id est omnibus
discors. Luctus uel animi anxietas. Temeritas uel furibunda audacia. Furor,
scilicet ubi preest impetuositas. Libido uindicte. Insustinentia et uultuositas.
Odium. Homicidium cordis, oris, operis. Auxilii subtractio et mine. Demonibus
270 commendatio et maledictio.

28. PECCATUM ACCIDIE. Malitia, id est odium Dei et tedium boni. Rancor,
qui est quod homo ⟨h⟩illarem uultum ostendere nequid. Pusillanimitas et disperatio.[116] Torpor contra praecepta. Vagatio mentis circa illicita. Ingnauia, siue
inertia, siue accidia. Negligentia, que est mater omissionum. Inprouidentia.
275 Incircumspectio. Querela de molestiis; de labore. Remissio. Taciturnitas. Ore
Dei expulsio. Inhabilitas ad gratiam. Dilatio uel torpor uel fictio confitendi.
Contemptus uel transgressio penitentie iniuncte. Recidiuatio in idem uel peius.
Insconstantia. Sompnolentia. Animi depressio cum amaritudine. Amissio temporis per otium in scolis uel in infantia. Pigritia uel torpor. Inpugnatio gratie.
280 Obstinatio siue inpatientia. Figmentum inpossibilitatis uel infirmitatis. Arditas
proficiendi, pronitas deficiendi, deficilitas resurgendi, inpossibilitas standi. Obliuio Dei et proprie custodie, et peccati et mortis. Occupatio in indebito uel in

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253 dilectio] derectio MS   256 invidie] odii MS   268 uultuositas] uulutositate MS

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[116] I.e., *desperatio.*

minori bono. Omissio faciendorum. Tristitia seculi. Dissimulatio peccati sub-
ditorum ex defectu zeli.

285   **29.** PECCATUM CUPIDITATIS. Proditio, siue dolus, siue uendere unum pro
alio. Fraus in mensuris et ponderibus. Fallacia in dictis, celando maculam,
periurium in quietando. Violentia. Obiurgatio cordis. Ambitus conlargirium.
Symonia. Rapina. Calumpnia. Furtum. Acceptio munerum. Nimius labor in
adquirendo. Timor et solicitudo in possidendo. Dolor in a[d]mittendo turpe
290   lucrum. Mercedis seruorum ablatio. Usura, tam in nummis quam in aliis rebus.
Dolosa promissio. Pactio superflua tam in legistis quam in magistris. Ab-
latorum detentio uel debitorum. Inhumanitas ad parentes et ad proximos.
Detentio decimarum et oblationum. Auaritia in elemosinis et comodis. Obsequii
et consilii negatio. Vita hospitandi domo in domum. Rerum occultatio. Rerum
295   negatio ne dentur. Debitorum repetitio cum scandalo. Proprietas. Retentio in-
iusto. Dandi dilatio. Tessauri congregatio. Inuita collatio. Mendicitas sine ne-
cessitate. Bis accipiendo cum mendacio. Grauamen subditorum. Deciorum et
alii ludus causa lucri.

30. PECCATUM CASTRIMARGII. Proprie. Laute. Nimis, scilicet per crapu-
300   lam in cibis, per ebrietatem in potibus.[117] Ardenter. Studiose. Crapularis de-
lectatio. Longa commestio. Frequens de die uel nocte cibi sumptio. Murmur de
inopia. Sordida ins†††tas in edendo. Inconsideratio laboris, famis, conplexionis
in edendo. Insconsideratio sitis, qualita⟨ti⟩s ciborum et uis potus. Superba
curialitas. Deuoratio partis sociorum. Fixio oculorum ad cibos uel ad colorem
305   potus. Morsellorum electio. Ingurgitatio.

31. PECCATUM EBRIETATIS. Ingratitudo, uel gratiarum omissio. Redditio
mali pro bono, quia ipse pascit et tu inebrias. Inepta letitia, scilicet cantando,
saltando, cachinando. Securitas. Scurrilitas in rithmis. Luxurie. Inmunditia
cordis, operis, oris. Multiloquium. Vaniloquium. Inanes fabule. Ebetudo sen-
310   sus. Infirmitas. Torpor et sompnolentia. Nausea et uomitus. Amissio usus
linque et aliorum membrorum. Ludi[s] illiciti. Incendium libidinis et omnium
malorum. Fame obliuio. Secretorum reuelatio. Verbera et homicidia. Temporis

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296 Tessauri] Testaur' MS

299–300 Proprie . . . Studiose: cf. *Perambulauit Iudas* 33 ("Si excessisti in quinque circum-
stanciis gule superius notatis: praepropere . . . laute . . . nimis . . . ardenter . . . studiose,"
163–64).

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[117] For the distinction between *crapula* ("in cibis") and *ebrietas* ("in potibus"), see
Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei* 9.9 (ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, Toronto
Medieval Latin Texts 14 [Toronto, 1984], 48).

et rerum amissio. Vite absentis detractio, presentis irrisio. Ad uerba Dei
aurium obstinatio.

315   **32.** PECCATUM LUXURIE. Simplex | fornicatio, adulterium, incestus, pecca-   49r
tum contra naturam. Coitus indebitus propter libidinem. Defloratio. Consensus
in luxuria. Delectatio. Crebra salutatio. Munuscula. Oscula. Contrectatio
membrorum. Visus illicitus. Alloquium. Olfactus. Lenocinium. Pollutio per
sompnum uel extra. Mollities. Procuratio sterilitatis. Cecitas mentis. In-
320   consideratio. Inconstantia. Precipitatio. Amor sui. Odium Dei. Affectus presen-
tis seculi. Horror uel desperatio futuri.[118] Impudicitia. Prodigilitas. Laciuia.
Petulantia. Turbatio, scilicet quando homo agit quod non agit confidenter.
Blandicie, quando homo aliis blanditur, et accipit ab aliis delicie. Voluptas.
Dissolutio. Inbecillitas.

325   **33.** PECCATUM LINGUE. Scurillitas. Vaniloquium. Garulitas. Cachinnium.
Mendacium[119] in doctrina fidei. Mendacium falsi testimonii in causa pecu-
liari.[120] Mendacium detractionis et falsi testimonii in causa criminali. Men-
dacium libidine fallendi. Mendacium adulationis causa placendi. Mendacium
quod nulli obest et prodest alicui, ut ab inmunditia corporis tueatur. Periurium
330   per fidem uel aliter. Iurgium. Blasphemie. Mine. Rithmi nociui et inutiles.
Detractio. Adulatio. Fractio silentii. Maledictiones. Coniurationes. Murmura-
tiones. Exprobrationes. Obiectus criminis.

     34. DE HIS NON POTEST ABSOLVERE SIMPLEX CAPPELLANUS:

          〈D〉editus usure, faciens incendia, falsi
335   Testes, sortilegii, falsarius atque monete
          Tonsor, legatum inpediens, a canone uicti,
          Proditor ac heresim sectans, uende〈n〉sque columbas
          Suppone〈n〉s partumue necans, rerumque sacrarum
          Raptor, presbitero nequeunt a simplice solui.[121]

340   Isti predicti nequeunt absolui a simplici sacerdote.

EXPLICIT TRACTATUS DOMINI CADUCANI BARGORNENSIS DE CONFESSIONE

University of Toronto.
University of Wales, Bangor.

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[118] "Cecitas mentis . . . futuri" attributed to Gregory the Great in *Perambulauit Iudas* 26:
"uel, secundum beatum Gregorium, cecitas mentis . . . desperacio futuri" (159).

[119] The six types of lies (*mendacia*) which follow derive ultimately from Augustine's
treatise *De mendacio,* and more immediately from *Peñafort* 1.10.3 (381–82).

[120] Cf. *Peñafort:* "Mendacium testis in causa pecuniaria."

[121] For these verses, see above at nn. 72–73.

TWO POETIC DEBATES BY HENRY OF AVRANCHES

A. G. Rigg and Peter Binkley

FOR vituperation and personal abuse in Anglo-Latin literature—perhaps any literature—the prize must surely go to Michael of Cornwall, whose three-part invective against Henry of Avranches, delivered before four separate audiences in 1254–55, displays unparalleled verbal wit and metrical virtuosity.[1] Michael's victim, apparently also his former teacher, was himself a major poet and surpasses Michael in his range of topics. Henry of Avranches has been enjoying a kind of renaissance recently, after a long gap since the pioneering work of J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus in 1935.[2] The canon of attributions has been examined in studies of the two major collections of Henry's poems, by A. G. Rigg and D. Townsend and by P. Binkley; most of the previously unedited saints' lives have now been edited by Townsend (and one by M. I. Allen), and other works have been edited by P. E. Hübinger and K. Bund.[3] Henry's efforts at vituperation, however, have been less fully stud-

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[1] Edited by Alfons Hilka, "Eine mittellateinische Dichterfehde: Versus Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Henricum Abrincensem," in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering,* ed. Alois Bömer and Joachim Kirchner (Leipzig, 1926; rpt. Hildesheim and New York, 1973), 123–54; this is abbreviated here as *MC.* For a summary, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 193–97. On the date, see Peter Binkley, "The Date and Setting of Michael of Cornwall's *Versus contra Henricum Abrincensem,*" *Medium Aevum* 59 (1990): 76–84.

[2] Josiah Cox Russell and John Paul Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935; rpt. New York, 1970); in references to this work the item numbers are preceded by R.

[3] David Townsend and A. G. Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (V): Matthew Paris' Anthology of Henry of Avranches (Cambridge University Library MS. Dd.11.78)," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987): 352–90; Peter Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI): The Cotton Anthology of Henry of Avranches (B.L. Cotton Vespasian D. v, fols. 151–184)," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 221–54; David Townsend, "An Edition of Saints' Lives Attributed to Henry of Avranches" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1985); idem, "Henry of Avranches: *Vita Sancti Oswaldi,*" *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 1–65; idem, "The 'Versus de corona spinea' of Henry of Avranches," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988): 154–70; idem, "The Vita Sancti Birini of Henry of Avranches," *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994): 309–38; idem, "The *Vita Sancti Fredemundi* of Henry of Avranches," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994): 1–24; and Michael Idomir Allen, "The Metrical *Passio Sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani* of Henry of Avranches," *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990): 357–86. For the studies and

ied, except in an unpublished thesis by Binkley.[4] This thesis traces the origins of the poetic debate to school exercises such as those described in the twelfth century by William Fitzstephen,[5] from which it developed into the skilful and sophisticated genre practised by Henry and Michael. Henry employs his debating skills in a variety of contexts, often as party to a legal dispute, such as the rival claims of Bourges and Bordeaux for the primacy of Aquitaine.[6] The poems edited here, however, show Henry at his most personal, in what are—like Michael's poem against Henry—clearly poetry contests, measured solely by their skill and ability to humiliate the opponent. They appear together in London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D. v (= *D*), fols. 168v–176v and 176v–177r.[7] They present Henry's side in contests against Bordo and Siler (in the 1240s) and against William of Laval (at about the same date).

Bordo-Siler.[8]

The attack on John Bordo and Peter Siler is listed by Russell and Heironimus as sixteen separate poems (nos. 129–44),[9] but its unity is evident. The poem is one side of what is evidently a staged poetic contest, with no serious issue at stake. Its occasion is simply the presumption of John Bordo and Peter Siler in challenging the author. He defends himself against charges of a hunched back, association with jesters, blindness, drinking, and unsociability. His counterattack condemns his opponents for temerity, plagiarism, and lack of skill. He relies especially on wordplay: Bordo, a *bordo*, is first a burro or donkey, and later a bee or horsefly. Peter, as Bordo's brother, is a mule, but may or may not be of the same species. Peter Siler (rock and willow) is both hard and soft; if he is not pliable enough to bind barrels, he must be used as a broom. Peter is suffering from leprosy, caused by sexual indulgence. Bordo has

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editions by Bund and Hübinger (not relevant here), see Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)," 221 n. 2.

[4] Peter Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests Associated with Henry of Avranches with an Appendix of Newly Edited Texts" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1990).

[5] *Vita Sancti Thomae,* in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury,* ed. James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols., Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85), 3:4–5.

[6] R65, R68, R128, ed. Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests," 231–45. Although separated in the manuscripts, the three poems are all part of the same debate.

[7] For a full account of the manuscript, see Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)."

[8] The text of *Bordo-Siler* (*BoS*), with commentary, was prepared by Rigg, but the introductory remarks—especially on historical allusions and parallels with Henry's other works—depend on Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests" and "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)." The text of *William of Laval* (*WmL*) was prepared by Binkley.

[9] Russell and Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems,* xxi–xxii: they were following the major initials.

a fat prebend and now refuses to serve his former master (that is, Henry); his curacy of La Bazoge is a spiritual disaster; he is a doctor of medicine but cannot cure Peter. The poet claims that first Bordo, and then Peter, admit their defeat by weeping. This is not entirely fiction. Peter Siler is unknown outside this poem, but John Bordo, or Bordum, is known as a poet and canon of Angers. He is described in the chapter's obituary book for 28 July (no year):

> Obiit m(agister) Joannes Bordum, subdiaconus et canonicus noster, in omni morum honestate preclarus, dictator et versificator egregius, qui circa officium et cultum divinum semper strenuus et assiduus fuit.[10]

According to the poem (lines 186–98), Bordo held the cure of souls at "Basochie"; this is La Bazoge, a parish near Le Mans that pertained to the chapter, the cure being in the gift of the scholasticus of Le Mans, who had an endowment there.[11]

It was customary in such debates to have a judge.[12] For *Bordo-Siler* the judge was Michael de Villoiseau, bishop of Angers 1240–60, addressed in lines 40–58 ("Pontificum flos, O Michael," 42; "pater Andegauis," 51); Bordo had written an epitaph for Michael's predecessor as bishop, Guillaume de Beaumont (†1240).[13]

The outer dates for the poem are 1240–60, when Michael de Villoiseau was bishop of Angers,[14] but greater precision may be possible. Henry describes his recent arrival in Angers with the intention to teach ("Nuper in Andegaui que nosco docere putaui," 76). If this is a real event, not a poetic fiction, this period of teaching, to fit Henry's known career, must have fallen either about 1240–43 or 1245–51, when Henry is absent from the public records in England. He must have been in Paris about 1241, when the relics of the Crucifixion arrived, as described in his poem on the *Crown of Thorns*.[15] Since Angers and Le Mans were in the lands of the king of France, and relations between the courts of England and France at this time were hostile, it is more economical to assume

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[10] *L'obituaire de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. Charles Urseau, Documents historiques sur l'Anjou 7 (Angers, 1930), 25–26; also cited in Joseph Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d'Angers (1148–1240)*, 2 vols. (Lille [Atelier national de reproduction des thèses], 1986), 2:688; cf. *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1856), col. 574A.

[11] Julien Chappée et al., *Enquête de 1245 relative aux droits du Chapitre Saint-Julien du Mans*, Société des Archives historiques du Cogner (Paris, 1922), lxxviii–lxxix, lxxxiv.

[12] In his debate with Henry, Michael of Cornwall's judges included the abbot of Westminster, the dean of St. Paul's, the bishop of Ely and clergy of Cambridge University, Hugh Mortimer, official of the archbishop of Canterbury, and Aylmer of Valence, bishop-elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester.

[13] *L'obituaire*, ed. Urseau, 31–32.

[14] C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1913), 88.

[15] Edited by Townsend (see n. 3 above).

that Henry's presence in Angers was in this period, rather than to suppose that he changed courts twice. This assumption also has the advantage that it fits the dates for William, dean of Laval, Henry's presumed opponent in the second poem (below).

The case for Henry's authorship of *Bordo-Siler* rests partly on that of the collection of poems in *D*, fols. 151r–184r. Cotton's librarian, Richard James, ascribed the collection to Michael of Cornwall himself, but it has been shown that Henry is the far more likely candidate.[16] In the case of *Bordo-Siler* we could make an *ex silentio* argument against Michael's authorship: he would hardly have passed up the opportunity of noting the identity of his own name with that of the judge (lines 42–43 and 48–49 are far too understated for this kind of poetry); but there are also more positive arguments for attributing the poem to Henry.

1) Lines 341–42 imply a kind of identity between author or audience and Avranches:

> Cenomannia, quam reuereri
> Debeat Abrincas.

2) Lines 299–303 claim that Peter, in trying to write poetry, is overreaching his own abilities, like Icarus who wanted to drive the chariots of the sun, or the tortoise that wanted to fly:

> Nonne times sperni   currus auriga superni?
> Cur insidis equo   quem nescis ducere, de quo
> Nec dum scis, Pheton   an sit Pirous an Ethon?
> Ycare, dic quare,   quare testudo uolare
> Appetis ut recidas?   Dum fas est, uota recidas.

Two poems to Milo of Beauvais employ the same themes. In one poem,[17] Milo is advised to accept dismissal as Keeper of the March of Ancona and to let his successor's ineptitude vindicate Milo's conduct:

> Terris prelatus   et ad imfima precipitatus
>   Ycarus, Ycareas   nomine reddet eas.
> Tunc poterit sperni   currus auriga paterni
>   Ignorans Pheton   inter equos quis Ethon,
> Nosque sinet scire   testudo que nequit ire,
>   Quando uolare uolet,   qua leuitate uolet (*Mi4* 25–30).

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[16] For a full discussion, see Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)," 248–54.

[17] R78; see Townsend and Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (V)," 382–83. It is labeled Mi4 in Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests"; see pp. 205–6 for the lines quoted here.

The theme of the tortoise that wanted to fly (Avianus, *Fable* 2) is naturally in the *Antavianus*, the rendition of Avianus's fables that may be by Henry of Avranches.[18] In the other poem to Milo on the same topic,[19] the same themes appear:

> Ergo cedas parum: videamus quomodo Pheton
>   Solis agat currus et moderatur equos,
> Quomodo Dedalias moueat puer Ycarus alas,
>   Quomodo testudo, que nequit ire, volet (*Mi3* 66–70).

Now this poem to Milo is in turn connected to the securely attributed *Vita Edmundi*[20] by the following lines:

> Esse pium nocuit, pietas fuit esse nociuum,
>   Fraudem nosse fides, fraus coluisse fidem (*Mi3* 13–14)

and

> cui scelus esse pium, pietas est esse scelestum,
>   fraudem nosse fides, fraus quoque nosse fidem (*Vita Edmundi* 233–34).

Thus, the *Vita Edmundi* leads to *Mi3*, which leads to *Antavianus*, which leads to *Mi4*, which takes us back to *Bordo-Siler*.

3) *Bordo-Siler* plays on the name Peter = *petra* ("rock"):

> At quia tu, Petre,   petra nomine diceris et re (315).

This links with a poem to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester:[21]

> r⟨upib⟩us O Petre, petra nomine ⟨dice⟩ris et re (30),

and the latter (lines 38–39) alludes in turn to the *Vita Birini*, which is certainly Henry's work.[22]

4) Above all, we must note the frequent parallels with Michael of Cornwall's

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[18] R31; see Townsend and Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (V)," 373. The *Antavianus* was edited by Leopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1884–99), 3:468–14. Ascription to Henry rests solely on its presence in Cambridge, University Library Dd.11.78, but note also that the phrase "que nequit ire," in the two Milo poems and *Antavianus*, is not in the original *Avianus*.

[19] R73; see Townsend and Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (V)," 381. It is labeled Mi3 in Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests"; see p. 206 for the lines quoted here.

[20] R24; ed. Francis Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* (London, 1907), 200–23. See Townsend and Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (V)," 372, for links between this and other saints' lives by Henry.

[21] R155; ed. Russell and Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems*, 125–26; see Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)," 246, no. 32.

[22] Edited by Townsend (see n. 3 above).

poem against Henry. Michael frequently says that Henry has accused him of plagiarism, e.g.,

> Inproperas nobis   et non semel, immo modo bis
> Quod vatum versus   furamur (*MC* 96–97).

In fact there are many lines in Michael's poem against Henry that echo Henry's poems. For examples of both verbal parallels and similar topics in *Bordo-Siler,* see the notes to 5–10, 22–23, 26, 27, 28, 29–30, 134, 140–64, 165–77, 272, 273, 284, 314, 330, 382, 405, 416, 417; see also *William of Laval.* Common rhymes abound, as indicated in the notes. It may have been Michael's exquisite joke, to deny plagiarism while actually pillaging Henry's own poems to do so.

Metrically, *Bordo-Siler* consists of 1–28 Leonini caudati; 29–39 elegi col-laterales; 40–342 Leonini; 343–452 Leonini unisoni, rhyming entirely on *-ere.*[23] The scheme is challenging, especially where two hundred and twenty rhymes in *-ere* are required, but it does not match the complexity of Michael of Corn-wall.[24] While Henry's rhymes are skilful, often rhyming one word with two, he lacks Michael's trisyllabic rhymes and split-word rhymes.

William of Laval.

This poem follows *Bordo-Siler* on fols. 176v–177r.[25] Russell took it to be an attack on William de Coulaines, a knight who harassed the chapter of Le Mans on a number of occasions.[26] In fact, it is clear that the opponent is a cleric, ac-cused by Henry of obtaining his position at Laval through simony (lines 31–33). The occasion seems to be similar to Michael's poem against Henry and the *Bordo-Siler* contest, though there is no mention of a judge, and a similar de-fence is made against accusations of plagiarism (lines 5–6). Unfortunately, about fifty-six lines have been lost from the middle of the poem,[27] and in what remains we find none of the elaborate insults that characterize *Bordo-Siler* and Michael's poem against Henry; nor is there a clear ending to the poem. Briefly, the argument is as follows:

> You charge me with writing old stories; you are moved by envy, and you owe
> your rank to simony. Gods, restrain this incompetent poet from rebuking my

[23] On these kinds of dactylic rhymes, see Rigg, *History,* 319–22.

[24] For Michael's rhyme-schemes, see ibid., 197, 369–70.

[25] R145 in Russell-Heironimus; ed. in Binkley, "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Con-tests," 222–25.

[26] Josiah Cox Russell, "Master Henry of Avranches" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1926), 124.

[27] The outer bifolium of the final quire of the manuscript has been lost, leaving it with eight leaves: each of the other quires of this part of the manuscript has ten leaves. The missing bifolium consisted of a leaf between fols. 176 and 177, containing the missing part of *William of Laval,* and a folio after the present final leaf, fol. 184, containing the conclusion of R158.

metre. You, William, try to deceive the people of Laval and thrust yourself too high.

"Vallis Guidonis" (line 32) is the town of Laval in the diocese of Le Mans, about fifty miles from Le Mans and the same distance from Angers.[28] Henry's opponent may be the William, dean of Laval, who issued a document in 1241; he was possibly still in office in 1243, when the document was inspected by the official of Le Mans.[29] William had been replaced as dean by November 1246.[30] His surname is not known; he may have been called "Barbarus" or something similar, to judge from Henry's use of the word (lines 1, 11, 31). The contest probably derives from the same period of Henry's career as the *Bordo-Siler* debate, when he was teaching at Angers.

Metrically, *William of Laval* consists of 1–10 elegi collaterales; 11–40 Leonini unisoni, on *-eco* (11–14 incomplete), *-ia* (15–19 incomplete), *-eri* (20–25), *-onis* (26–33), and *-icis* (34–40).

TEXT

The poems are written in a neat thirteenth-century hand (*D*), thirty-two lines per page in long-line format; there are alternating blue and red initials (usually two lines high) for section divisions, and these divisions have been preserved in the present edition by extra spacing.

The spellings of the manuscript have been preserved, including the double consonants in *Sillenus* (15), *calligant* (156), *stimillum* (262–63), *proruppere* (359), and *occullere* (391). The following, however, were corrected by a scribe: *solliuagum* (165); *solliuagans* (171). It is notable that in Cambridge, University Library Dd.11.78 Matthew Paris commented on such spellings as Normanisms: on *ruppis* he wrote "sic dicit omnis Neuster," and on *sagittam* rhyming with *inauditam* and *vitam* he noted "Neuster dicit sagitam."[31]

As the apparatus shows, scribe *D* was quite careless and has frequently been corrected by *Da,* who might or might not be the same scribe. He is no longer identified with Matthew Paris.[32] *Da* corrections include 1, 42, 70, etc. (and the

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[28] J. G. T. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus,* ed. Helmut Plechl and Sophie-Charlotte Plechl, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1972), 2:362, s.v. "Lavallum".

[29] E. Laurain, "Anciens quartiers de Laval," *Bulletin de la commission historique et archéologique de.la* Mayenne, 2d ser., 20 (1904): 173–75. The official's *inspeximus* refers to "litteras sigillo G(uillelmi)i, decani de Lavalle, sigillatas." If William was out of office by then, one might have expected "quondam decani."

[30] A. Bertrand de Broussillon, "La maison de Laval. Cartulaire de Laval et de Vitré. Emma (*Suite*). VIII (314–468). 1211–64," *Bulletin de la commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne,* 2d ser., 10 (1895): 267; cf. pp. 281–82, items 439, 442.

[31] Binkley "Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry Contests," 190 n. 28; "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)," 251 and n. 99.

[32] Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VI)," 223 n. 4.

note at 33 that a line is missing). As *Da* may have had access to the exemplar, we have given it equal authority. *Da* writes in a cursive script, usually in the margin, sometimes above the line. When the author of the correction may be *D* or *Da* (alterations of single letters, expunctions, etc.), we have simply written MS. Frequently we have had to resort to emendation (*BoS* 57, 154, 183, etc., *WmL* 5, 11, etc.), but some readings remain uncertain: see *BoS* 17–18, 33, 199, 452. Corrections and emendations are not shown in the text but are all recorded in the apparatus.

I

Bordo-Siler

Petre Siler, quasi petra sile iam, noster Homere: 168v
Te pudeat nec posse loqui nec uelle silere.
Raucus es, et timeo ne uociferando labores:
Forte fuere lupi qui te uidere priores.

5   Causa magis suspecta latet: lepramne uocabo
Cuius habes infecta graui precordia tabo?
Pulmonem putridum, faciem facit inuide glaucam
Et tumidas fauces et uocem dat tibi raucam.
Vox fit inaudibilis marcentibus edita poris;

10   Scabra cutis prurit et fetet hanelitus oris.
Hec in te pestis quo cepit si pede currat,
Abjiciere cito—de te plebs tota susurrat.
Crede michi, dum tempus habes, merceris asellum
Qui fragilem lentus ualeat portare misellum.

15   Disce uehi pando ueluti Sillenus asello,
Intuituque Dei dabimus fragmenta misello.
Tunc recte fiet cum patris fabis, agaso,
Et pro gallinis crudo uesceris omaso.
Sparsas iam micas uinumque recollige fusum

20   Flabellique sonus lingue tibi suppleat usum.
At michi non credens aliquid uis esse uideri
Qui nichil es famamque Dauus uenaris Homeri.
Te michimet confers. Quid de te, Birria, sentis?
Visne tibi sciolus decus usurpare scientis?

25   Suppliciis te subicerem, set negligo tales—
Nescit enim muscas uenari regius ales—
Frenaque maxillis posuissem, uincula collo,
Set meus irasci tibi uix dignatur Apollo.

Ad noua qui nichil es, Petre, uersibus in ueteranis,   169r
30   Et benefacta siles   et male ficta canis.
Concordas asino   Balaham neque res neque uoces,
     Set nichil omnino   scis aliosque doces.

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1 quasi *Da* : qui *D*   20 -que *sup. lin.* MS

Indignante Deo   Dauus exaltaris ut heros

. . . .

Est orphea tuis   horroribus insita labes,
35   Exteriusque luis,   Petre, quod intus habes.
Hoc facies glauca,   letalis hanelitus oris,
      Voxque probat rauca   multaque signa foris.
Quando requiretur,   dicam qua peste laboras
      Et tibi dicetur: Lazare, uade foras!

40   Discussor ueri,   decus admirabile cleri,
Cuius adest curis   uirtus que pericia iuris,
Pontificum flos, O   Michael, qui tam spacioso
Nomine censeris,   nobis dare iura teneris.
Impressum menti   ius exprime, dumque scienti
45   Bella mouent scioli,   causam producere noli.
Qui neque si tua res   ageretur iura negares,
Propter eos quare   uelles michi iura negare?
Moribus excelsis   ostendens quod Michael sis—
Nonne quis ut Deus es?   —nullatenus ergo recuses
50   Cuique suum dare   ius: alioquin hostis es eius.
Set, pater Andegauis,   tolerare grauissima mauis
Propter iusticiam;   iactantibus ergo sophiam
Coram te sciolis,   profitentibus omnia solis,
Iudicium peto te: lapidandi sunt ydiote
55   Stercoribus centum,   quando sibi tale talentum
Vsurpare uolunt   et Homero cedere nolunt.
Quando census hebet,   profitens subtilia, debet
Musa subire rudis   pro uerbis uerbera crudis.   169v

Est attendenda   tibi lis tum de profitenda
60   Cognitione metri,   tum de raucedine Petri,
Tum de uesica   Bordonis, ut utraque pica
Que se Pyeridi   confert temeraria, si dii
Respiciunt mundum,   luat hoc mortale, secundum
Quod tua dictabit   ratio. Pars utraque stabit
65   Iuri quod dederis,   nec enim suspectus haberis.
Ergo nitaris   rationi, nec mouearis

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33 *obelus in margine atque* dee⟨st⟩ *Da*   42 qui *suppl. Da*   57 hebet *scripsimus* : h̄t *D* : habet *(!) Da*

Propter personas,   puerisque silencia ponas
Ne clament una.   Tot enim clamoribus una
Vox nequit obniti   uatis quantumque periti.
70   Dum clamant pueri,   ratio nequit ulla uideri,
Quos docct ut trister   raucus clamare magister.
Hic appingit ei   clamor uexilla trophei
Me quasi confuso,   set nil ego ferre recuso
Clericus a laicis   aduerse partis amicis;
75   Ferre tuum presto,   qui iustus es arbiter, esto.

Nuper in Andegaui   que nosco docere putaui
Intrantique chorum   uox est audita duorum:
Mulus psallebat,   bordonem Bordo tenebat.
Signa notans per que   raucus rauciret uterque,
80   Haud inpune tuli: percussus sum pede muli;
Necdum sedatur,   set adhuc michi Bordo minatur.

Non ope Bordo caret: si non pro posse iuuaret
Frater eum similis,   mecum non esset ei lis.
Scit uero populus   quia non est quis nisi mulus
85   Frater Bordonis: plus sensus aut rationis   170r
Neuter habet reliquo   set raucit uterque sibi. Quo
Federe coniuncti   certant excedere, puncti
Planiciem, pice   musam, cedrumque mirice.
Scit Cenomannis   de condicione Iohannis
90   Quare dicatur   Bordo, Petrusque probatur
Mulus, nam frater   Bordonis, cum neque mater
Ambos una quidem   generarit nec pater idem.
Cumque sit ipsorum   proprium raucire duorum,
Rudere nolentes   sicut rudiere parentes,
95   Inde nothos esse   perhibent et degeneres se.
Queritur ergo bene,   speciesne sit una duene?
Ille caballinus   est filius, hic asininus,
Set numerus generum   numerum facit et specierum.
Ergo diuerse   species sunt utraque per se.
100   Set quod sint eadem   ratione probatur eadem:

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70 ratio *Da* : uero *(uel* non) *D*   72 uexilla] *corr.* MS   76 Nuper] Super *(sed* n *indi-*
catur parva littera) D   88 cedrum *Da* : Gedrum *(?) D*   92 generarit] *corr. e* generauit
MS   95 perhibent] *corr. e* prohibent MS

Quot species rerum,   tot propria sunt specierum;
Ergo, quod ipsorum   refert raucire duorum
Cum proprium sit idem,   sunt et specietenus idem.
Sic neque plura neque   sunt unum set nichil eque.

105 Anichilant etiam   nostram pro posse sophiam,
Vtque nichil simus   sicut sunt, que bona scimus
Euacuare student,   set ubi precepero rudent
Hinnitusque dabunt   uel eos mea flagra domabunt.
Nam subeundorum   me precipiente iugorum

110 Hactenus ignari   flagris meruere domari.
Hactenus indultor   uenie, iam criminis ultor
Non ero tam mollis,   immo dabo uincula collis
Frenaque maxillis;   non ecclesiasticus illis
Subueniet cultus,   nec enim considero uultus,   170v

115 Immo naturam   rationalemque figuram.
Hos licet indutos   probat indiscrecio brutos
Hos brunelligenas,   qui non pro crimine penas
Nobis obicerent   si quid rationis haberent.
Vmbrosum lumen,   obtusum mentis acumen,

120 Brutis innatum   penam putat esse reatum.
Set non est uerum: penas Deus optima rerum
Elicit; ergo bone   sunt pene, quod ratione
Principii constat,   set idem de crimine non stat.
Demon peccati   pater est. Peccata beati

125 Gaudent nescire   set penas ultro subire.

Porro quod improperant,   quo famam ledere sperant,
Gibbos et pandam   ceruicem, si tibi pandam
Quare sit panda,   mea laus est inde probanda.
Celum namque teres   Athlantis et Herculis heres

130 Sustentans humeris   quia cum tot baiulo speris,
Stellas ingentes   humeros uix ferre ualentes
Incuruauit honus;   ideo sic ambulo pronus.

Fingunt fraude pari   quod sit michi mos imitari
Scurras et mimos,   set non est iste michi mos.

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120 innatum] in natum *D*   131 ingentes] *corr. e* ungentes MS   134 Scurras *Da* :
sCurras *canc. D*

135   Teste quidem clero   nullius munera quero
        Quanticumque uiri   mimis assueta requiri.
        Nec peto uel ioculor,   nec detraho cui uel adulor.
        Sic est discussum   quod talibus oppositus sum:
        Ergo fidem deme   mentitis turpia de me.

140   Improperant quia sum   quasi cecus; quem michi casum
        Si tociens lectus   dat Naso uel egra senectus   171r
        Vel quicquam simile,   nichil hic considero uile.
        Improperant michi que   pocius meruere, patique
        Est michi penosum,   set eis meruisse probrosum.
145   Vt quid in inficias   irem? Fuit ipse Tobias
        Cecus, ut hystorie   perhibent, sanctique Tobie
        Quem, nisi desiperet,   consorcia ferre puderet?

        Detrimenta mei   uisus uirtute Liei
        Processisse ferunt.   Causam si uina dederunt
150   Haud egre tolero: per uina resurgere spero,
        Nam merus ille liquor   facit exultare michi cor.
        Vates uina bibunt,   set Bordo, mulus, adibunt
        Flumina, torrentes,   quos assueuere parentes
        Ipsorum bibere,   qui nunquam uina bibere,
155   Corda mouens hominum   dum nobile sit michi uinum.
        Quid si calligant   oculi quos secla fatigant?
        Hec eciam pestis   multis contingit honestis.
        Nec sum cecus ita   quin agnita sit michi uita
        Vexans utrumque,   uexans hominesque Deumque.

160   Mox procedentes   oculorum sepe fluentes
        Improperant stillas: pietas mea protulit illas,
        Si causam queris,   quia condescendo chimeris
        Quas insanire   perpendo, nec impetus ire
        Imperat huic Phebo: morientur quando iubebo.

165   Soliuagum minime   socialem, Bordo, tibi me

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137 cui *Da* : cum *D*   140 Improperant] -pro- *sup. lin.* MS   141 lectus] *corr. e* lec-
tis MS   142 quicquam *Da* : quicumque *D*   146 sancti *Da* : sancto *D*   154 bibere[1]
scripsimus : libere *D*   155 nobile] *corr. sup. lin.* MS   165 Soliuagum] *corr. e* Solli-
uagum MS

Dicis. Concedo   nec in hoc delinquere credo.
Vt meritis fame   per secula lauder, et a me
Discatis scioli   michi nota poemata soli,
Que minus attente   didicistis, meque docente   171v
170   Vt sapiant homines   terrarum uisito fines.
Soliuagans ales   est turtur, set quia tales
Esse solent casti,   tanquam scelus hoc reputasti
Cum sis incestus,   et quod non digner honestus
Vobis esse malis   affabilis aut socialis
175   Sic iumentorum   paciens nocumenta meorum
Conqueror attente   quod mundo non prohibente
Audent opponi   seruilia bruta leoni.

Deriuatiue   speciei bestia siue
Composite Bordo   frangendas quando bohordo
180   Ferre michi solitus   hastas, nunc uero potitus
Pingui prebenda,   mea negligit arma ferenda
Estque michi triste   quod Bordo recalcitrat iste.
Grande quid incepit   cui tanta superbia repit
Pro ueteri sella?   Quia quem concepit asella
185   Passa Milonis equm   modo uult contendere mecum.

Basochie misere,   ue uobis, quot periere
Inter uos anime,   nec iam dubitatur an ime!
In grege pastorum   punitur culpa: luporum
Grex sine pastore   rapido discerpitur ore.
190   Non fuit obrutum   pecus has committere tutum,
Bordo, tibi curas,   diuersa negocia curas,
Bordo timens pelli   proprie; poteruntne repelli
A timido rabidi?   Nunquam contingere uidi
Vt fera que raperet   predam te, Bordo, timeret.
195   Qui tibi subiecit   ita plebem, quam bene fecit!
Contra te, Bordo,   pro me tuus excipit ordo
Quem male custodis,   uatum qui carmina rodis   172r

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167 lauder] *corr. e* laudar MS   169 attente] *corr. e* attende MS   170 uisito : t *sup.*
lin.   171 Soliuagans] *corr. e* Solliuagans MS   178 ⟨.⟩uea dimittatur *in margine* Da
180 potitus] *corr. e* poterit *uel* potitur MS   183 tanta] tanda *corr. e* danda MS
184 Pro] P⟨..⟩ (*oblitt.*) D   quia] *corr. e* quea MS   185 equm] *corr. e* ecum MS
194 bordo] *corr. e* bardo MS

Dente caballino,   furiis agitatus ut Yno.

Bordo, ferocis equi   soboles nequissima me qui
200 De te fidebam,   qui te clementer alebam,
Aspernaris ita?   Breuis amodo sit tua uita.
Cur prolongari   deberet? Visne cibari
Instar iumenti   nec uis parere iubenti?
Bordo, comedisti   plus dudum quam ualuisti.
205 Attamen ut dominos   cognoscas esse domi nos,
Dum sinit hec pietas   tua prolongabitur etas,
Tempore set modico   —satis est breue tempus iniquo,
Neue ferar parcus,   licet ira tetenderit arcus,
Dum tibi demeritam   clemens indulgeo uitam:
210 Vescere prebenda   precio tibi pellis emenda!
Si rigide uellem   procedere, quid nisi pellem
Soluere sufficeres,   quia fedis pellibus heres?
Exue, Bordo, cutem   propere: sperare salutem
Non licet ingrato;   manifestius ergo probato
215 Quod sis ingratus,   uix sufficis ad cruciatus.
Spes tamen est miseris   de te qui tantus haberis
Arbiter urine,   set quid facit ars medicine?
Quis per eam uiuit?   Si Petrus quomodo sciuit
Te docuit metrum,   cur non iuuat ars tua Petrum?
220 Petrus namque,   —quia Giezi fuit in symonia,
Hunc lepra percussit   Naaman; iam pectore tussit
Intus hanelante,   —iam uermiculatus et ante
Et post ungue furit   in sese, nam caro prurit
Vermibus innumeris.   Cur Petri non misereris?
225 Verus ut ostenter,   non est opus amodo. Venter   172v
Hoc probat et dorsum,   labra sursum pesque deorsum,
Multaque signa foris,   nam fetet hanelitus oris.
Pes tumet et scabra   turgent rubigine labra,
Et uox est rauca,   frons discolor et gena glauca,
230 Iamque cito Petrus   expulsus ab urbe petit rus,
Qui fieri sospes   per te sperauerat—O spes
Iuste decepta   que de Bordonis inepta

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208 ferar] *corr. e* ferax MS 209 indulgeo] *corr. e* indulgio MS 212 quia] *corr. e* qua MS 220 giezi] *corr. e* giesi MS 225 Verus *Da* : Istud *D* 226 pes *Da* : pedes *D* 228 turgent *Da* : liuen *canc. D*

     Confidebat ope!   Nunc sentit uerbera scope
     Quam sibi collegit,   nam Bordo federa fregit
235 Que male pactus erat;   nulla Petrus amodo sperat
     Arte salutari   Bordonis posse iuuari.

     Quid loquor? Erraui,   quando te, Bordo, uocaui
     Quadrupedum sobolem: reuocans hec omnia, solem
     Protraxisse puto   de stercore te resoluto.
240 Ecce quis et qualis   fuluis amiciris in alis,
     Quam tibi, Bordo, male,   quam bordonaliter ale
     Quam tenues herent: nulla ratione ualerent
     Vermes mille fabam   similes tibi, teque putabam
     Quadraginta fere   solidos ad multa ualere.
245 Alicule mote   quasi quodam murmure quo te
     Impetus impellit?   Me, Bordo, sophisma fefellit.
     Nominis equiuoci   nolo plus credere uoci,
     Immo rei credam: portandis bestia quedam
     Apte putabaris,   modo prorsus inepta probaris.
250 Non es gressibile   set reptile, noster asile.
     Non es iumentum   reuera set nocumentum,
     Et te non asina   genuit set merda bouina.

     Bordo, sequens musas   cur mellificare recusas?   173r
     Ex quo mella sitis,   hoc nobis est uia litis.
255 Mella rapis mea vi,   quod dum prohibere paraui
     Nec michi, predo faui,   fauisti nec tibi faui.
     Murmure cisma paris   set nescio cur timearis,
     Nam stimulo tristi   cui uulnera prima dedisti
     Rursus obesse nequis.   Facis ergo miserime. Ne quis
260 Deinde tuos ictus   timeat cum sit semel ictus.
     Bordo miser uermis   pungit semel et fit inermis:
     Ergo reliquisti   stimillum quia me pupugisti.
     Ergo delinquens   in me stimillumque relinquens
     Carnibus effossis,   nec habens quo ledere possis,
265 Vnde timendus eris?   Set ego, qui bella chimeris

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235 Que] Quem *D* 239 Protraxisse] Pro⟨..⟩axisse *(oblitt.) D* 251 iumentum *Da* :
lumetum *D* 254 uia] *corr. e* uita MS 258 prima *Da* : primo *D* 259 Rursus]
corr. e Sursus MS obesse] *corr. e* abesse MS 260 sit *scripsimus* : sis *D* 261 fit
scripsimus : sit *D* 262 quia] *corr. e* que MS

Omnibus indico,   tibi penas equus iniquo
Infligam meritas,   quia pungis, Bordo, maritas.
Nam te castratum,   te filo crura ligatum,
Quando uolare uoles,   retinebit pendula moles.
270   Bordo, si saperes   non me deferre studeres,
Immo michi pocius,   qui non cano carmen alius.
Tu uero fures   dixisti nos, quia fur es.
De reprehendendis   in temet me reprehendis
Et latro latronem   reputas, Catelina Cathonem.
275   Tu logicen, tu ius,   tu carmina spernis et huius
Discipulus laici   Maro uis aut Seneca dici.
Nec Maro nec Seneca   ratione uocaberis equa:
Semper eris Bordo,   sic fati permanet ordo.

Petre Siler, socie   Bordonis, predo sophie,   173v
280   Quam tamen ignoras   penitus, qua fraude laboras
Te conferre probis,   nec miror si tua nobis
Inuida precipitem   moueat contencio litem.
Nosceris expresse   tibimet contrarius esse;
Ergo quod a monstro   non differs, hoc tibi monstro.
285   Naturam sileris   nancisci iure uideris
Naturamque petre   quia diceris hec duo, Petre.
Molles sunt sileres,   set petre sunt rigide res;
Ergo iure pari   poteras homo bosque uocari.
At monstrum ne sis,   licet hec regina poesis
290   Tales infestos   habeat tot propter honestos
Dat tibi totque probos   ut non dicaris homo bos.
Set furis omnino   qui pectore grossa bouino
Carmina uix soluis   ueteranaque scripta reuoluis
Ascribensque tibi   rursum facis ut noua scribi.
295   Inde tibi laudes   rudium uenaris et audes,
Postponens tibi nos,   sensus preferre bouinos
Sensibus humanis;   sic furto uexat inanis
Gloria te quodam,   set ego tua crimina prodam.
Nonne times sperni   currus auriga superni?
300   Cur insidis equo   quem nescis ducere, de quo

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268 crura] *corr. e* cura MS   269 uoles] v *sup.* u *Da*   274 catelina] ca⟨.⟩delina
(oblitt.) D   284 a monstro] amonstro *D*   287 Molles] *corr. e* Molle MS   292 fu-
ris] ⟨...⟩is *(oblitt.) D*   293 Carmina] C⟨..⟩mina *(oblitt.) D*

Nec dum scis, Pheton   an sit Pirous an Ethon?
Ycare, dic quare,   quare testudo uolare
Appetis ut recidas?   Dum fas est, uota recidas.
Crede michi: scio quam   demens, quam stultus es. O quam
305   Non regit auriga   quo uis excedere biga?
Quo properas, linther   sine remige? Quid facis inter   174r
Versificatores?   Vix anser es inter olores,
Vix Dauus inter heros,   uix Zoilus inter Homeros.

O uimen natum   nobis, Siler, ad famulatum,
310   Fraude dolos uincis   nec uini dolia uincis.
Nonne michi suberis?   Superest ut falce seceris,
Aut ut frangaris,   si flecti non paciaris.
Aut suberis dominis   aut fies scopa latrinis,
Quarum fermentum   purgauit uterque parentum.

315   At quia tu, Petre,   petra nomine diceris et re,
Nunc de te senti   prout est: tu quomodo menti
Formas imprimeres,   adamas, qua rupibus heres?
Et si quid scires,   eciam proferre nequires.
Est tua raucedo   curabilis? Haud ita credo.
320   Morbum fatalem   pestemque repellere talem
Nemo satisfaceret,   nam causa perhenniter heret
Que faciem glaucam,   que uocem dat tibi raucam,
Et uix audibilem.   Casulam tibi construe uilem
Et pete flabello   panem dabimusque misello
325   Ossa pauimenti   nutu signoque petenti.
Me quoque iam miseri   miseret; tibi me misereri
Cogit quod miser es;   qui uictus iam nisi fleres
Sacra ueste nitens,   nostram tua fistula nitens
Sollicitare liram   sentiret Apollinis iram,
330   Motus erim iuste   calcarem sub pedibus te.

Te, pater, ut nosti,   presente pepercimus hosti
Et tibi uindictam   seruauimus, ut ferat hic tam
Inuidus ille magis   merite discrimina stragis.   174v
Nostra quidem laus hos   facit insanire, set ausos

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311 michi *Da* : tibi *D*   315 diceris] *corr. e* disceris MS   322 faciem *scripsimus* :
faciam *D*

335   Opponi michimet   tua sic correpcio limet
            Limaque corripiat,   ne tale quid amodo fiat.
            Carminibus dona   quod promeruere. Corona
            Nec uiridis lauri   nec fului poscitur auri
            Contra Bordones,   set sufficit ut michi dones
340   Victrices hederas,   expellendoque chimeras
            De medio cleri,   Cenomannia, quam reuereri
            Debeat Abrincas,   reliquis exempla relinquas.

            Hactenus austere   se Naiades exposuere
            Palladi belligere,   nec dum responsa tulere.
345   Hactenus effimere   dissoluere nos uoluere
            Et ualuere fere;   Petre Sileresque ciere
            Nos presumpsere;   Bordones nos pupugere.
            Versus sparsere   probrosos et renuere
            Inde satisfacere,   nec non appensa statere
350   Debentes luere   nondum peccata luere,
            Set loto latere   contra nos ambo stetere.
            Ipsos corrigere   compellam quod nocuere;
            Que premisere   puniri digna fuere.
            Ausos hec iacere   michi tela iubebo iacere
355   Et faciam facere   quicquid decerno iubere,
            Aut pressos onere   mea flagra docebo pauere.

            Amodo dignere,   iudex, mea musa, sedere: 175r
            Penis subicere   sciolos uolo qui tumuere
            Quo proruppere;   te uincere proposuere
360   Et michi detrahere;   uindicta nolo carere.
            Petrum persequere   qui magnum se perhibere
            Meque studet premere;   Bordonum iam miserere,
            Quem ueniam petere   uideo lacrimisque madere.

            De Petro Silere   uolui quasi petra silere,
365   Set leo iam fremere   cogor, quia non timuere
            Multas obicere   michi penas quas meruere
            Et me mouere   quantum potuere mouere.
            Magna minorque fere;   liceat michi bruta docere

---

340 expellendo *Da* : expendo *D*   349 appensa] apensa *D*

Vt quem spreuere   discant aliquando timere.

370   Petre Siler, patere   tua mundo gesta patere.
      Vis alios regere   set tumet quando regere?
      Cur nequeas sapere,   causam potes ipse uidere.
      Qui tibi legere,   doctrinam non potuere
      Petris impremere.   Quid te iuuat ergo studere?
375   Credis proficere,   cum petra silerque uocere
      Et neuter sine re   nomen uidearis habere,
      Ex quibus et uere   durusque tenerque probere?
      Formas suscipere   res dure non didicere;
      Res autem tenere   nequeunt impressa tenere;
380   Hinc potes arguere   quod mente teneris hebere,
      Gressa recensere,   rudis indocilisque manere.
      Vis tamen instruere   pueros ut pauca lucrere,
      Nec lucra iuuere   set oportet ut arte iuuere
      Et uultum tegere   studeas: si quando notere
385   Hinc expellere,   cum fustibus eiciere.   175v
      Si non uis fugere,   ne sic miser ergo fugere,
      Fac ut mundere   medicisque frequenter adhere:
      Herbas nouere   per quarum iura nouere.
      Bordonem sequere,   cuius dum iussa sequere
390   Vix conuincere;   pro paruo nititur ere
      Lepras occullere   Bordonis phisica. Quere
      Eius opem propere: curabere uel moriere!
      Sed quod curere,   medicorum spes abiere;
      Tempora fluxere,   dudum mala conualuere.
395   Nescio consulere,   cautele sunt modo sere.
      Attamen ex genere   processum non habuere
      Ista set ex uenere: leprosi qui cohiere
      Te preuenere;   debebas ergo cauere
      Prorsus ab hoc opere,   nam multi sic periere
400   Et contraxere   quod contrahis ex muliere.

      Res ita uenere;   deberes ergo latere
      In tenebris camere.   Noli tamen inde dolere.

_____

375 uocere *scripsimus* : nocere *D*   376 neuter *scripsimus* : neutro *D*   380 hebere
Da : habere *D*   384 notere *scripsimus* : nocere *D*   392 Eius] *corr. e* Eus *(?)* MS
393 quod *scripsimus* : que *D*   399 multi] milti *D*   400 *spatium post* contrahis

Non potes effugere   uindicte flagra seuere,
Donec stellifere   fiat reuolucio spere.
405   Hoc tamen in uere   spes est michi quod rapiere;
Signa notauere   medici dubiumque scidere
Quod cessauere   Parche tua stamina nere.
Consulo sincere   tibi, cui pudor esset egere
Et panem petere   flabello, ne reuerere
410   Ense tuo cadere,   si pestem uis abolere.
Crede michi, morere   commissaque furta fatere.
Set quid agunt opere,   cum pro te nil operere?
Non uis occidere   sicut decerno decere;
Mauis languere   pauidus lepramque fouere.   176r
415   Et tamen, O miser, hee   te pestes non domuere
Quin metra furere,   quin simia nos imitere.
Debes pendere   pro furtis que patuere:
Multi sciuere   nec oportet ut inficiere.
Me decet eligere   qua pena fur cruciere:
420   Nullas sufficere   penas puto quas paciere
Pro tanto scelere,   quia uis per furta placere.
Vis ut laudere?   Laudem uirtute merere
Furtaque deserere   properes, quia non placuere.
Set laudis capere   cupis hamum quo capiere.
425   Verborum falere   faciunt tua scripta nitere:
Quis respondere   poterit tibi, noster Homere?
Ebrius es pipere   quod multi iam cecinere.
Si modo scis canere,   uates idcirco canere?
Victricis hedere   nunquam tibi serta dedere.
430   Vis tamen excipere   contra metra que ualuere
Nulliusque fere   permittis scripta ualere.
Vis ita desipere?   Furie, puto, te rapuere:
Te secus ergo gere   uel penis iam subigere.
Multos inficere   posses si digrederere;
435   Debent ergo sere   te claudere ne spaciere,
Vincla cohercere,   nec enim decet ut tolerere.

---

406 scidere] *corr. e* sciden MS   408 cui pudor *Da* : pudor cui *D*   416 furere *Da* :
fuere *D*   421 scelere *scripsimus* : scerere *D*   422 laudere] *corr. e* laude MS
426 Homere] *corr. e* omere MS   427 quod *scriptum in spatio*   428 nere *in margine*
Da   429 serta *Da* : certa *D*   432 desipere] *corr. e* descipere MS   434 digrederere]
corr. e digrediere MS   435 sere] *corr. e* scre MS   ne] *corr. e* nec MS

Quo modo censere   uis artem quam docuere
Me karites supere   solum, totamque dedere?
Pellis pantere,   soboles horrenda Megere,
440   Liuidior cinere, nil nosti, nil profitere.
Set moueor tenere   quia te considero flere:
Iam tibi parco mere;   quid enim iuuat ut iugulere?
Dege miser misere,   miseris non curo nocere.   176v
Ne tamen urgere   te cogar, disce tacere
445   Vel prosam loquere,   cuius metra non sonuere,
Que quia tam temere   se nostris preposuere.
Quod scio te furere,   quod cepit et ipsa uirere
Frons tua plus olere,   plus stercore naris olere,
Vsus deficere   uocis, caro tota tumere,
450   Musculus effluere,   faciesque simillima cere
Et res innumere   uix possunt me cohibere
Quin meus atterere   uelit impetus ora chimere.

---

440 nil[1]] *corr. e* uel MS   442 ut iugulere *Da* : iuguliere *D*   445 sonuere *Da* : sol-
uere *D*   449 tota] *corr. e* tua MS   452 Quin meus *Russell-Heironimus p. xxii* : Quin
om*nes D* : Quis *(corr. e* Quin*)* m*s Da*

II

William of Laval

Nos tua barbaries   dampnat, Willelme, latinos;
   Cordis enim caries   liuida prodit in os.
Sicne bonis priuor,   que solus habere putaui?
   O fraus! O liuor!   O nocumenta Daui!
5   Res agito tritas,   quicquid scio non ualet ouum,
   Et uetus ut recitas   incipit esse nouum.
Que male refrenas   utinam re uerba probares,
   Aut odii penas   inuidieque dares.
At nisi destiteris,   pedibus calcando chimeram
10   Cisma tui sceleris   in tua dampna feram.

---

5 tritas] tridas *D*   11 Prepete] Prepede *D*   barbare] barbore *D*

Prepete curris equo   contra nos, barbare preco,
Et tua uox equo   reboat sublimius, e quo
Cisma tuum reseco.   Patet omnibus et michi ceco
Qualiter et de quo   lis mecum sit tibi mecho.
. . . .

15   Te mouet inuidia: tibi talia nostra Talya   177r
Bella set imparia   parit. Apparere sophia
Vult tua stulticia,   quam supportante magya,
Culmen in ecclesia   tibi, seue dyabole, dya
Non Deus aut alia   dat gracia, set symonia.

20   Iam satis, O superi,   satis est ita posse uideri,
Posse recenseri   nugas sub ymagine ueri!
Quid sinitis fieri?   Loquitur Dauus instar Homeri,
A quo uix pueri   quicquam potuere doceri,
Deque metro ueteri   nos arguit! Este seueri,
25   Tanto ne sceleri   parcat sentencia cleri.

Sed de personis   quid dicam, que Pharaonis
Subiacuere thronis   uenerantes Bel Babilonis
Verticibus pronis?   Et tramite tu rationis
Vlterius non is,   fulgere uolendo coronis
30   Conferrique bonis,   bos preesse uolendo colonis,
Garcio patronis.   Qua, barbare, fraude Synonis
Fallere proponis   plebem de Valle Guidonis?
Quo uicio Symonis,   quibus est tibi uendita donis?

Vir cado vi pulicis,   cedrus succumbo miricis,
35   Si tibi me subicis,   collectis undique spicis,
Pristina qui reficis,   garrisque simillime picis.
Stragula multiplicis   uicii notissima uicis,
Nec te sic amicis,   quin sis odiosus amicis.
Stirps infelicis,   non queritur an meretricis;
40   Stercora qui metricis   dicendo te michi dicis.

---

29 Vlterius *scripsimus* : Alterius *D*   37 Stragula *scripsimus* : Fagula *D*

COMMENTARY

Bordo-Siler.

1–28 (Hexametri caudati).

Be silent, Peter Siler. Your rough voice shows that the wolves have seen you, or is a sign of leprosy. You should buy an ass and beg, and I will give you crumbs. You still presume to contend with me, but my muse disdains to be angry.

1	*noster Homere* (also 22, 426): cf. *MC* 844, "quia contradicis Homeris."
	quasi petra sile: cf. 364.
4	To be seen by the wolf before seeing it caused dumbness: Virgil, *Ecl.* 9.53–54; Isidore, *Etym.* 12.2.24.
5–10	The symptoms of Peter's leprosy (also in 36–37, 220–29, 322–23) include rotten lungs and coughing, grey complexion, swollen throat, hoarse voice, rough flesh, itching, stinking breath (cf. *MC* 885, "tibi fetet anelitus oris"), and diseased stomach, back, lips, and feet. Michael (*MC* 785–94) defends himself against a diagnosis of leprosy based on his red face, which he attributes to *fleuma salsum* or *gutta rosea*.
15	Ovid, *Ars amat.* 1.543–44, "senex pando Silenus asello | Vix sedet."
17–18	"Then, boy, all will be well, when you are fed on father's beans and raw tripe instead of chicken," but *fabis* (CL *făba*) is textually suspect, since the author scans *făbam* correctly at 243.
20	*flabelli* (also 324): the leper's clapper.
22–23	Davus and Birria are traditional names for slaves in classical and medieval comedy. Cf. *MC* 689, "tu Synon, Byrria, Davus"; *MC* 1025, "Davus"; *MC* 1189, "Byrria seu Dave"; *MC* 1196, "Davus, non David"; *WmL* 4, 22.
24	Cf. *MC* 306–8:

> Tune, velit nolit Pallas, vis esse poeta?
> Quid fit? Nonne dolus stolideque superbia mentis,
> Quod nomen sciolus vis usurpare scientis?

26	Cf. *MC* 183, "Non capiunt muscas aquile" (in a similar context).

27–28 (also 112–13) Cf. *MC* 309–10:

> Si meus ad plenum tibi contristatur Apollo,
> Maxillis frenum referes et vincula collo.

29–39 (Elegi collaterales).

Peter, you are incapable of original writing and lack both the sense and voice of Balaam's ass; later I will reveal your disease and people will cry "Away, leper!"

29–30 (also 293–94) Michael made a similar charge against Henry, *MC* 687–88:

> Vilis es et viles veteri de stipite plantas
> Ad nova, qui nichil es, inter mea carmina plantas,

and *MC* 696:

> In nova tam vetera metra dum transferre laboras.

Michael also reports Henry's defence and countercharge, *MC* 693–94:

> Res agito tritas, ut dicis, nilque tenellum,
> Et quando recitas vetus, incipit esse novellum.

See also *WmL* 5–6. This is all more than abuse: most of Henry's longer poems (saints' lives, *On Generation and Corruption*, Hildegard of Bingen's prophecy, and the grammatical works) are translations from prose into verse.

31   Num 22.

33   As *Da* notes, rhyme and scansion show that at least one pentameter is lacking.

34   *orphea labes:* if this refers to homosexuality (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.78–85), no more is made of it in the poem.

36–37   See note on 5–10 above.

39   Jo 11:43, where "veni foras" refers to Lazarus's cure.

40–342 (Leonini).

40–58: Michael, bishop of Angers, give judgment against these importunate fools!

> For appeals to the fairness of the judge, cf. *Bourges-Bordeaux,* prologue Pru (R65; Binkley, "Thirteenth Century Latin Poetry Contests," 231–33) 9–15, and BB1 (R68; Binkley, 233–36) 10–20; *On Generation and Corruption,* Prologue (ed. Russell and

Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems,* 102) 1–20; *MC* 441–72, 583–92.

40   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 967–68.

41   *que = et.*

42   The only possible candidate is Michael de Villoiseau, bishop of Angers 31 August 1240 to November 1260; see n. 14 above.

          spacioso may refer to the length of his name.

44–45   See note on 24 above.

          producere: "lengthen."

56   *Homero:* cf. 1.

57   *census = sensus.* Rhyme and sense require *hebet* for *habet.* Cf. *MC* 287–88, "debet. . . . Quod tibi sensus hebet."

59–75: The contest concerns knowledge of metre, Peter's hoarseness, and Bordo's bladder; your judgment will be respected. Impose silence on these boys, who have been instructed to shout me down.

59–61   The triple issue (metre, Peter's voice, and Bordo's bladder) is a kind of parody of the double judgment required in a case like *Bourges-Bordeaux,* in which there were two judges, one of the legal issues (*res seriei*), the other of the presentation (*series rei*); see *Bourges-Bordeaux* (R128; ed. Binkley, "Thirteenth Century Latin Poetry Contests," 237–45 [BB2]) 129–30.

61–62   Ovid, *Met.* 5.294–678, where it is the Pierides that challenge the Muse!

67–71   The presence of *pueri* suggests the Fescennine contests described by William Fitzstephen; see p. 30 n. 5 above.

71   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 759–61.

72–75   "This clamour attaches the flags of victory to him (Peter), as though I were confounded, but I, a cleric, do not refuse to put up with anything from the lay supporters of the opposite side. You, who are a just judge, be ready to pass your judgment." For the rhyme of 75, cf. *MC* 595–96.

76–125: When I went to Angers to teach, a mule was singing, and a burro sang the refrain; the mule kicked me, and the burro is still threatening. They are brothers but share neither father nor mother; Le Mans knows why Bordo is so called. Their braying shows that they are bastards, but whether they are

of one or two species is unclear. They try to annihilate me, so I will show them no mercy. They show their ignorance by confusing *pena* and *crimen*.

> The basis of the joke is that *Bordo* = "burro" (a kind of donkey), offspring of a (male) horse and a she-ass; Peter is a mule, offspring of a male ass and a mare (97, 184–85). Thus, as they descend from a horse and an ass, they are brothers (83, 91) but share neither father nor mother (91–92). The latter point suggests that they are of different species, but their braying (*raucire,* 93–94) indicates the same species. The poet's blows, however, will teach them to neigh (*rudere*) like their parents.

78   "The mule sang the psalm, Bordo sang the refrain." The English word "burden" (refrain) comes from another sense of *bordo,* "bumblebee," on which the poet plays below (237–65).

83   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 69.

86–88   "Joined in this alliance, the points try to surpass the plane surface, magpies the Muse (cf. 61–62), and bushes the cedar." Cf. *WmL* 34.

89   *Cenomannis:* Le Mans. This form of the nominative (*Cenomannia.* 341) is recorded by Graesse, *Orbis Latinus.* Le Mans is where the debate took place or where Bordo and Peter Siler lived (see 341–42).

91   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 789–90.

92   For the rhyme, cf. *Bourges-Bordeaux* (BB2) 68.

93–95   Horses (Bordo's father and Peter's mother) neigh, but these two bray. On the charge of degeneracy, cf. *MC* 159–60, 343–44, where Michael says that Henry is not degenerate, as he shares his parents' faults.

97–99   Bordo is *caballinus,* son of a male horse; Peter is *asininus,* son of a male ass. Logic requires that the number of *genera* should correspond to the number of species: therefore they are of different species. For 97, cf. *MC* 349, "Nullus runcinus ita trotat, pes asininus."

100–108 As they share the property of braying, they must be of the same species. Thus, being neither one thing nor the other, they defy logic and are trying to destroy my wisdom (104–7); I will therefore teach them to neigh and whinny (101–8).

112–13 See 27–28 above.

114   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 989–90.

116–17   "Their lack of discretion shows that these offspring of asses, though clerically garbed (see 113–14), are brutes."

116–25   They use the wrong word to accuse me: *pena* comes from God and is welcomed by Christians; it is *crimen* that means guilt (*reatus*) and sin (*peccatum*), which comes from the Devil.

121   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 685–86, 813–14; *Bourges-Bordeaux* (BB2) 13.

126–32: They criticize my humped back and flat neck, but I deserve praise for bearing the universe on my shoulders.

129–32   "Because I, heir of Atlas and Hercules, supporting the smooth heaven on my shoulders, bear vast stars and as many spheres, the burden has bowed down my shoulders, which are hardly able to support them; that is why I walk stooped." For Atlas and Hercules, cf. the poem to John Blund (R127; ed. Russell and Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems,* 129–36), 7.

133–39 They charge me with imitating fools and jesters, but I do not beg for money, joke, satirize, or flatter.

134   Cf. *MC* 143–44:

         Ad quid ei loquerer? Nunquam fuit iste michi mos
         Quod scurras sequerer vel consimiles sibi mimos.

         Michael has hotly denied Henry's comparison of him with a *mimus*. Later, Michael makes the same charge, *MC* 1113, "comes es mimis."

139   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 787–88 (where *deme* should be read in 788).

140–64: They criticize my short sight, but this is no shame if it comes from age or from much reading of Ovid; they *deserve* blindness. None would be ashamed to share Tobias's blindness. They blame my short sight on drink, but wine (which they don't drink) is a fine thing. My eyes grow dim through age, but I am not too blind to miss their faults. The drops in my eyes come from weeping and having to descend to attack these chimeras.

         Accusations of blindness (often attributed to drink) are common in *MC*. Michael admits his short sight, but says that his wits, unlike Henry's, are sound, *MC* 255–57:

         Virtus visiva tibi deficit amodo, necnon

Vis memorativa; michi debilis illa, sed hec non.
Pauca licet videam foris, intus multa videns sum,

whereas Henry is "cecus . . . intus et extra" (260). Similarly, *MC* 402:

Vix tua scripta legis, nisi sint loca lumine plena.

Henry needs a prompter to read his own writing, *MC* 505–7:

                             nisi quis
Dicat in aure sibi. Labiis labetur iniquis
Et leget, ac si sit sua littera tota litura.

Henry is unused to strong drink, as his parents drank only water, and so he now sees double, *MC* 512–14:

Forcia vina bibit, cuius stirps flumen adibat.
Simplex littera, si per se sit scripta, videtur
Illi dupla quasi. . . .

Similarly *MC* 671 and 767–69:

Cecus es et cecos tibi gaudes associare . . .
Inter monoculos qui vix potes evigilare,
Cur nostros oculos attemptas adnichilare,
Mens cui caprina, velut expers vi racionis?

145–47   Tob 2:11, etc.

148   *Liei:* i.e., Bacchus, wine (cf. *MC* 1165–66).

150–52   The beneficial effects of wine, especially for poets, are often celebrated, e.g., *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta,* ed. Heinrich Watenphul and Heinrich Krefeld (Hildeberg, 1958), No. 4, 12–15 (= No. 10, 16–19).

152–55   Reading *bibere* (154; for the rhyme, cf. 350): "Poets drink wine, but Bordo (and) the mule will go to rivers (and) streams, which their parents, who never drank wine, used to drink, whereas I have noble wine, which enriches the hearts of men."

        adibunt flumina: cf. *MC* 512, quoted above in the note on 140–64.

156   *secla:* i.e., old age.

161–64   "My pity produced them, if you ask the reason for my tears, because I have come down to the level of these monsters, who I reckon to be insane; it is not the force of anger that commands my muse. They will die when I command. For *chimera* as a term of abuse, cf. 265, 340, 452; *WmL* 9; *MC* 846, 973.

165–77: You say that I am a lone wanderer and unsociable towards you, which I don't deny. I travel the world to learn poems to bring wisdom to men and for you to learn (which you don't). Turtledoves are solitary, but they are also chaste, which is why you reject this way of life. Servile beasts should not oppose the lion.

> Michael charges Henry with wandering in ostensible search for poets, *MC* 677–78:
>
>> Per terras varias, velud explorando poetas,
>> Erras, et varias tibi vestes verme repletas;
>
> and similarly, *MC* 1080–81:
>
>> Immo per terras vagus erras, sic quod oberras,
>> Narrans res miras, deliras. . . .

168   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 23.

171–72   For the chaste turtledove, see Isidore, *Etym.* 12.7.60.

178–85: Now that Bordo, a beast of mixed origin, has a fat prebend, he won't bear my arms any longer. The offspring of a she-ass and Milo's horse hopes to vie with me.

178–79   See note to 76–125. "Bordo, a beast of derivative or composite species, who used to bring me spears to be broken when I *bohordo*." The last word may be a form of *boare* ("roar") or a vernacular word.

184   The "old saddle" that encourages Bordo's pride is presumably the "fat prebend" (181), which may have been at La Bazoge (186).

185   Perhaps Bordo's father was a horse belonging to Milo, bishop of Beauvais, whose epitaph Henry wrote (R126; Binkley, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies [VI]," No. 18, pp. 236–37).

186–98: Alas for La Bazoge, which lost many souls by entrusting them to you, Bordo, who are too scared for your own skin to drive off the wolf. You carp at poets' songs, driven by rage.

186–87   "Poor La Bazoge, alas for you—how many souls perished among you—and there is no doubt whether they were the lowest." This seems to suggest that Bordo was sent to take care of a neglected parish or community that had been subjected to some spiritual threat; cf. *obrutum pecus* (190).

190–91   "It was not safe to entrust these cares (i.e., the care of souls), an overthrown flock, to you, Bordo—you are busy about various affairs."

195–98   "What a fine job he did, who subjected the people to you! Your order, which you guard badly, takes exception against you on my behalf, you who carp at poets' songs with your horse's tooth, driven by rage like Ino."

ordo: probably the clergy.

Yno: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.416–542.

excipit: cf. 430.

197   Cf. MC 463, "Fur et latro ferus, qui vatum carmina rodit."

199–236: Although I nurtured you, Bordo, you reject me; you want to eat, but won't obey, and have already eaten more than you're worth. I'll let you live for a while: live off your prebend, but you'll pay with your skin for your ingratitude. You are famous as a judge of urine; if Peter taught you metre, you should repay him by curing his leprosy. He is full of worms and the seriousness of his disease is clear. He will have to go into the country, having vainly trusted in Bordo's skill.

200–201 For the charge, cf. *MC* 728, "Semper es ingratus, ubi debes reddere grates."

201–2   On the wish for the opponent's death, cf. *MC* 552–56, 1163–64, and below, lines 401–21.

206   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 327. For the merciful prolongation of life, cf. 362–63 below; *MC* 196–97, "sed parco dolenti. | Me mea simplicitas miseri facit esse misertum"; *MC* 1197, "Meus archus erit modo parcus" (with rhyme of 208).

220–22   On the leprosy which passed from Naaman to Giezi because of the latter's simony, see 4 Reg 5.

221–29   On the symptoms of leprosy, see note on 5–10 and *MC* 885 cited there.

228   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 961–92.

233–34   "He feels the blows of the broom that he has gathered"; cf. 313–14 below.

237–52: I was wrong to call you a quadruped, Bordo. The sun brought you out of dung, and you have tiny wings. I valued you at forty shillings, but a thousand worms like you aren't worth a bean. I won't trust your ambiguous

name: you're not a walking burro but a crawling horsefly. You weren't born of a she-ass but from cow dung.

> The poet shifts to the other meaning of *bordo*, "bumblebee" (cf. 78 above). The properties of the bee—its thirst for honey (254) and its death when it leaves its sting behind (258–64)—seem to be confused with those of the horsefly or dung beetle, its supposed origin. The confusion may be deliberate: this is a *bordo* that cannot make honey (253).

240–42   "Look who and what kind you are, wrapped in shining wings. How thin the wings that cling to you, how badly, how Bordo-like!

244   *ad multa:* "at the most."

245–47   "Where does the force of the movement of your tiny wings, with a kind of buzz, drive you? The logic has defeated me. I will no longer trust the sound of your ambiguous name."

253–78: You don't make honey but steal mine. There is no need to fear you, as you leave your sting behind and are powerless. I will punish you for stinging married women, and you will be unable to fly away, held back by your *pendula moles*. You accuse me of stealing your songs, but you are the thief, Catiline accusing Cato. You'd like to be called Virgil or Seneca but will always be Bordo.

254   "Your thirst for honey is the source of our quarrel."

257   *cisma = schisma* ("quarrel"; also *WmL* 10, 13).

262–63   *stimillum:* scan as though it were *stĭmŭlum*. See p. 35 above.

263–69   The *pendula moles* (269) is Bordo's mutilated *membrum virile*. These lines combine the image of the bee that has left its sting behind, so tearing out its flesh ("carnibus effossis," 264), with the castration inflicted for Bordo's adultery (267).

265   *chimeris:* see note on 161–64.

270–71   That is, you should not accuse me (*deferre me*) but defer to me (*deferre michi*); cf. *MC* 21, "Si michimet defers."

271   *altius:* genitive.

272   Cf. *MC* 331–32:

> Cur etenim fures nos dicis? Cur? Quia fur es
> Et latro de nocte,

and *MC* 22:

> Quos reputas fures scriptorum, non quia fur es,

and Michael's poem on Mansel's broken leg (Russell and Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems,* 157), 13–14:

> Quod si non cures, rex dicet, "Dic, latro, cur es
> Tam fallax? Fures similes tibi fers, quia fur es.

273   Cf. *MC* 1–3:

> Archipoeta, vide quod non sit cura tibi de
> Non reprehendendis in me: que dum reprehendis,
> Fis reprehensibilis;

and *MC* 595–97:

> Presto
> Esto, pendere de re, qua me reprehendis.
> Prendis tu temet.

274   The letters are smudged, but Catiline is intended as a reprobate unfit to challenge Cato, just as Bordo is unfit to challenge the poet.

275   *huius:* i.e., Peter. For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 431–32 ("huius"/"diu ius").

278   Cf. Avianus, *Fables* 5.18, "semper asellus eris."

279–308: Peter Siler, you fraudulently match yourself with honest folk. You are a monstrosity, as willow is soft but rock is hard. You claim old songs as your own and seek the praise of the ignorant. Like Phaeton, you are riding a horse whose name you don't know, and are destined for a fall. A tortoise can't fly. Putting yourself among poets, you are a boat without a rudder, a goose among swans, Davus among the heroes, Zoilus among Homers.

As with Bordo, the poet plays on the etymological contradictions in his opponent's name: *siler* ("willow"); *petra* ("rock")

283   For the rhyme, cf. *Bourges-Bordeaux* (BB2) 69.

284   Almost identical with *MC* 354, "Quod non a monstro differs, satis hoc tibi monstro," where Michael is discussing the appropriateness of Henry's name Troteman ("nominis omen | Dat tibi 'trotare' " [345–46]).

289–91 "But lest you be a monster, Queen Poetry—although she holds such creatures to be enemies, because of so many honest and fine men—grants that you not be called "man-ox."

292–94 "But you are quite mad who with difficulty solve (digest!) fat songs in your bovine breast, and you go over old songs and rewrite them as new, ascribing them to yourself." For the charge, see note on 29–30 above.

294   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 165–66; *Bourges-Bordeaux* (BB2) 79.

295   For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 84 ("collaudes"/"audes").

299–304   For the use of these themes in the Milo poems, see pp. 32–33 above.

299–301   For the Phaeton story, see Ovid, *Met.* 2.1–339; the four horses of the sun were Pyrois, Eous, Aethon, and Phlegon (*Met.* 2.153–54).

302   For Icarus, see Ovid, *Met.* 8.152–259; for the flying tortoise, see Avianus, *Fables* 2.

304–5   "Where do you wish to depart in a chariot that no driver guides?"

308   *Dauus:* see note on 22–23 above.

          Zoilus: a traditional name for a severe critic, as in Ovid, *Rem.* 365–66.

309–14: O Willow (*Siler*), born to serve us: if you won't bend and bind barrels, you will be cut down to make a broom for sweeping out filth in latrines, just as your parents used to do.

314   Michael charged Henry himself of cleaning out latrines, *MC* 311–12:

          Contra me cur es, latebras qui queris opacas,
          Suspendens fures ville purgansque cloacas?

          and *MC* 1207–8:

          Fex Abrincarum, quarum purgando cloacas
          Ac has fedaris. . . .

315–30: Being a rock (*petra*), you can neither impress forms on your own mind nor convey them to others. Your sickness is permanent and incurable. Build yourself a hovel and beg with a clapper, and I will throw you scraps out of pity. If your reedpipe won't admit defeat, it will feel the wrath of Apollo.

315   For the same line in the poem to Peter of Winchester, see p. 33 above.

316–17   "How could you, being adamant, impress forms on your mind, with which you cling to rocks ?"

322–23   For the diagnosis of these symptoms, see note on 5–10 above.

324–25   ". . . and I will give you "bones of the pavement" as you miserably beg with nod and gesture." Cf. 20 above. The *ossa pauimenti* are probably stones.

327–29 "If you were not already weeping, overcome, shining in your holy robe, your pipe, which strives to disturb my lyre, would feel the wrath of Apollo." This alludes slightly to the story of Midas, Ovid, *Met.* 10.146–93.

330 Cf. *MC* 947–48:

> Ergo cum iuste condempnet bis modo ius te,
> Digne cum fuste calcabo sub pedibus te.

331–42: In your presence, father, I have spared my enemy. Correct those who, provoked by my fame, dared to oppose me. Victory over these Bordos does not merit gold or laurel—ivy will do, if Le Mans expels these chimeras and sets an example for the future.

331 For the rhyme, cf. *MC* 1252–53.

338 In *MC* 200, Michael asks for a garland of laurel.

339 For the plural *Bordones*, cf. 347, 362.

340–42 ". . . and that by expelling chimeras from the midst of the clergy, you, Le Mans (whom Avranches should honour), should leave an example for others." Here (unlike 89) the usual nominative form *Cenomannia* is used. The nominative form *Abrincas* (beside *Abrincae, Abrenctas, Abrincates,* etc.) is recorded by Graesse, *Orbis Latinus.*

   chimeras: see note on 162–64 above.

343–452 (Leonini unisoni, rhyming entirely on *-ere*).

343–56: The Naiads have challenged Pallas and not yet been answered. These Silers and Bordos have provoked me, and it is time to compel them to make restitution or they will feel my lash.

343 It is not clear why the Naiads should be mentioned here. A medieval variant "Naides . . . solvunt" at Ovid, *Met.* 7.759–60, for the usual "Laides . . . solverat" has the Naiads rather than Oedipus solve the riddle of the Sphinx, and this may have earned them a reputation for claiming wisdom.

345 *effimere:* "short-lived"? Most medieval usages seem to be medical (of a fever) or biological (of plants or animals that have brief lives).

346 "The rocks and willows," i.e., these Peter Silers; for the plural, cf. 339.

349–50   ". . . and also, although due to pay the weights of the balance (cf.
          Job 31:6, Dan 5:27), they have not yet paid for their sins."

351   *loto latere:* "in vain." Cf. *On Generation and Corruption* (Russell
          and Heironimus, *Shorter Latin Poems,* 104) 69–70, "Ergo si loto
          latere | breve consumpsi spacium."

357–63   Now I demand vengeance, Muse, pursue Peter and have mercy on
          Bordo, for I see that he is weeping and begs for pardon.

357   "Now deign, judge, my muse, to take your seat." Either Michael of
          Angers has become his muse, or the muse has taken Michael's
          place as judge.

358–59   "Who swelled up, by which (so that) they burst forth." For the
          spelling *proruppere,* see p. 35 above.

362–63   Cf. *MC* 196–97:

                              sed parco dolenti.
               Me mea simplicitas miseri facit esse misertum.

364–69: I wanted to be silent (*silere*) about Peter, but I am a lion that has
been provoked, and I must teach them to fear me.

364   Cf. 1.

366   *obicere . . . penas:* this is the phrase to which the poet took excep-
          tion at 117–25 (see note).

368   *magna minorque fere = magnaque minor fere:* apparently "fiercely I
          make great threats."

370–400: Your deeds are manifest, Peter. How can you "rule," who can't
rule yourself? Those who taught you could make no impression on stone
(*petris*). Being hard and soft (stone and willow), you can neither receive im-
pressions nor retain them. Though unteachable yourself, you want to teach
boys, in order to make a profit, but this does you no good. Attend doctors
and follow Bordo: for a small fee he tries to conceal leprosy—you'll be
cured or die! Doctors have given up hope for your cure. Your disease comes
from sex—you should have been more careful.

371   *regere[1]:* in the technical sense, "be a regent master over, a lec-
          turer."

375–76   (Reading *neuter*) "Do you think to profit, although you are called
          'Peter' and 'Siler' and, being neither, seem to have a name without
          reality?"

380–81 *gressa recensere:* apparently "to go over again what has been walked." "Hence you can argue that you are bound to be feeble in mind, to retrace your steps, to remain rough and unteachable."

382 Cf. *MC* 191–92:

Ignorans artes, pueros elementa docebis,
Declinans partes, nec nobis inde nocebis.

383–85: (Reading *notere* [384]) "Nor have your profits helped you. You need to be aided by art, and you should strive to hide your face. If you are ever noticed, you will be expelled, you will be thrown out with cudgels."

386 "If you are unwilling to flee, lest you be wretchedly put to flight. . . ."

388 "They know herbs by whose juices you may be restored."

393 (Reading *quod*) "The hopes of doctors that you might be cured have gone."

401–52: You'll have to hide. You won't be cured till the heavens turn again. You'll die in Spring: your fates have stopped spinning. You're ashamed to beg, so don't be afraid to die by your own sword and confess your sins—but you won't do it. Your disease hasn't taught you not to steal my verses. You should hang: I'll choose the punishment. To earn praise, give up thieving. You're drunk on pepper; you won't admit merit in others' verses; you should be locked up. Panther-skin, Megaera's child—but you're weeping, so I will spare you. Be silent or write in prose. Your face is greener than a cabbage. You stink and your voice is failing. I can scarcely restrain myself from crushing you.

405 Cf. *MC* 802, "nunquam vernet tibi ver bis"; *MC* 1213, "hora venit mortis"; *MC* 1089, where Michael foretells Henry's death in "septembris sive novembris." See also note on 201–2 above.

406 *dubiumque scidere:* "have resolved the doubt."

416 *furere:* pres. 2d sg. subj. "steal." In *MC* 97–105, Michael defends himself against a charge of having stolen Henry's verses.

417 Cf. *MC* 823–24:

Quid tardas quidve moraris
Quin suspendaris et suspensus moriaris?

426 *noster Homere:* cf. 1 and note.

428 "Just because you can sing, are you therefore to be called *vates*?"

430 *excipere:* cf. 196.

437–38   "How can you censure an art which the divine graces have taught to me alone and given it entirely to me?"

439   *pellis pantere:* probably alluding to its spotiness, Isidore, *Etym.* 12.2.8.

441–42   Cf. 362–63 above.

446   *que = hec:* "because they (your metres) so rashly set themselves above ours."

447–51   "The fact that I know . . . , the fact that your forehead . . . , and your waxlike face and countless things can scarcely restrain me. . . ."

450   Cf. *MC* 1253, "cere similis facie."

452   (Adopting Russell's "Quin meus") ". . . but that my strength wishes to crush the face of the chimera." The reading of *D,* "Quin omnes," will not scan, and *Da,* "Quis mens," makes no sense.

   chimere: see 162–64 above.

William of Laval.

3–6   Cf. *MC* 691–94:

> O fraus, O livor, O pestis pessima Davi,
> Hiisne bonis privor, que solus habere putavi?
> Res agito tritas, ut dicis, nilque tenellum,
> Et quando recitas vetus, incipit esse novellum.

4   *Dauus:* see *BoS* 22 and note.

5–6   For the theme, see *BoS* 29–30 and note.

9   *chimeram:* see *BoS* 162–64 and note.

10   *cisma = schisma* ("quarrel"), as at *BoS* 257.

15   *Talya:* muse of comedy.

18–19   Cf. *MC* 649–50:

> Numquid in arte studes tu, seve dyabole, dya
> Erudiendo rudes? Non, sed magis in symonia,

   and *MC* 385–86:

> Coram quo dyum tu, seve diabole, vernam
> Me trahis in brodium?

27   *Bel:* Dan 14.

28–29   Cf. *MC* 1079, "racionis tramite non is."

30   Synezesis of forms of *praeesse, praeire,* and *deesse* is normal in Henry's poetry; cf. *Vita Oswaldi* 493, "Plus verbo prodesse uolens quam uerbere preesse"; *Vita Fredemundi* 314, "Milicie Christi preerat, set traditor, Offam."

31   *Synonis:* Sinon advised Priam to bring the wooden horse into Troy.

32   *Valle Guidonis:* Laval, in the diocese of Le Mans.

33   Simon Magus attempted to purchase spiritual power from Peter and John (Act 8:18–24), thus giving the name to the sin of simony.

34   Cf. *BoS* 88.

37–38   "O cloak of manifold sin, well known in the streets, you do not cover yourself in such a way as not to be hateful to your friends." It would be possible to read *sagula* (CL *sagulum*).

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PERICHORESIS, DEIFICATION, AND CHRISTOLOGICAL PREDICATION IN JOHN OF DAMASCUS

Richard Cross

JOHN of Damascus occupies a unique position in the history of Christian theology.[1] On the one hand he provides something of a digest of the whole Eastern tradition, summarizing (and sometimes appropriating verbatim) a vast theological and philosophical heritage: in short, an unashamed encyclopedist.[2] On the other hand, he was—perhaps for this reason—almost the sole means whereby the most theologically vital Patristic tradition was passed on to Western theologians of the Middle Ages, and he was one of the most important of the Eastern Fathers for the Reformers too. There is no aspect of John's theology where this is more apparent than in his Christology. He assimilated

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[1] For the works of John, I use the edition of Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5 vols.: I. *Institutio elementaris. Capita philosophica*, Patristische Texte und Studien [PTS] 7 (Berlin, 1969); II. *Expositio fidei*, PTS 12 (Berlin and New York, 1973); III. *Contra imaginum calumniatores oratio:nes tres*, PTS 17 (Berlin and New York, 1975); IV. *Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica*, PTS 22 (Berlin and New York, 1981); V. *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, PTS 29 (Berlin and New York, 1988). In all citations, parenthetical references indicating the volume, page, and line numbers of the edition appear after the chapter numbers for the individual works. I use the following abbreviations for the works of John of Damascus:

Aceph. = *De natura composita contra acephalos* (4:409–17)
Dial. = *Dialectica* (1:47–146)
Expos. = *Expositio fidei* (2:3–239)
Haeres. = *Liber de haeresibus* (4:19–67)
Imag. = *Contra imaginum calumniatores* (3:65–200)
Jacob. = *Contra Jacobitas* (4:109–53)
Transfig. = *Sermo in transfigurationem domini* (5:436–59)
Volunt. = *De duabus in Christo voluntatibus* (4:173–231).

[2] For example, passages in John's *Expos.* are lifted verbatim from Ps.-Cyril, Maximus, Nemesius, and Leontius of Byzantium, and chapters of his *Dial.* simply reproduce portions of various Neoplatonic commentators on Aristotle's *Categories*—Porphyry, Elias, Simplicius, Ammonius of Hermeias, and Philoponus, to mention just the most important. One of my tasks in the final section of this essay will be to assess the extent to which John make an original contribution in Christology, not least given his vast debt to his immediate predecessors. I shall argue that John develops a distinctive theory that, while it owes much to earlier thinkers, represents a substantial and original contribution.

all the most sophisticated material in the Monothelite controversy, and he was the major Patristic source for Western medieval Christology—indeed, more important in this respect than Boethius. Even more notably, he was the principal source—other than Luther himself—for the later Lutheran theory of the communication of divine attributes to the assumed human nature of Christ.

None of this means, however, that John was not himself a creative theologian. Indeed, not only does John provide a good synthetic exposition of the Patristic Christological heritage, but he also makes an active contribution to this tradition. My purpose here is to try to understand precisely one aspect of John's Christology: how he understood what later theologians came to call the *communicatio idiomatum*. My ultimate reason for undertaking this task is to allow a comparison between John's teachings and that of those later theologians who claimed John as an authority. And what makes this an interesting task is precisely the fact that John was so very influential on all sides in later Christological debate. Understanding the complete nature and extent of John's influence on later Christology would, of course, be a massive undertaking; I shall make some brief suggestions in my conclusion.[3]

The task is made more complex than it would otherwise be by the inability of the later (medieval and postmedieval) tradition to decide how precisely the *communicatio idiomatum* should be understood. According to the medievals, the *communicatio idiomatum* amounts to the claim that all attributes, divine and human, can be predicated of the one person of the Word. But some later thinkers in the Lutheran tradition explicitly appeal to John in support of another sort of Christological predication: the predication of divine attributes of the human nature—the Lutheran *genus maiestaticum*.[4]

A second difficulty with any talk of the *communicatio idiomatum* is that the phrase itself is a Western medieval coinage,[5] and while there is an obvious

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[3] I hope to be able to make further use of the research undertaken here in subsequent studies on the later history of Christology. See, for example, my *The Metaphysics of the Incarnation: Thomas Aquinas to Duns Scotus* (Oxford, forthcoming).

[4] Lutheran theologians discern another genus of the *communicatio* too—the so-called *genus apotelesmaticum,* the joint activities of divine and human natures in some of the actions of the incarnate Christ. This genus is what theologians after Maximus (himself modifying Ps.-Dionysius) have talked about as the theandric action of Christ, and as taught by Maximus is clearly found too (under a different name) in the *Tome* of Leo, canonized at Chalcedon. As we shall see below, John has two accounts of the theandric action of Christ, only one of which is taken up by the later Western tradition, both Catholic and Lutheran.

[5] I do not know who first used the precise phrase *communicatio idiomatum*. But its use is clearly prepared in the early thirteenth-century theologian Alexander of Hales, who uses both the phrase *communicatio proprietatum,* and (in close proximity to this) *proprietas* and *idioma* as equivalent, citing John of Damascus as the source for the teaching that "whatever is predicated of the incarnate God is predicated too of the man"; see Walter H. Principe, *Alexander of*

Greek phrase that *communicatio idiomatum* could plausibly be held to translate (namely, *antidosis tōn idiōmatōn*), this Greek phrase was not generally known to the medievals. Those Lutheran theologians whose Greek was up to scratch saw that *antidosis* is one of the relevant Greek terms corresponding to *communicatio*, though they were happy too to let *communicatio* translate terms such as *koinonia*. In what follows, I shall avoid altogether the phrase *communicatio idiomatum*. Rather, I shall always be careful to make clear exactly which Greek term or phrase is under discussion at any point in the article.

As John understands the *antidosis,* it refers to the general rule that both divine and human properties are predicated of the incarnate person. The *antidosis* is the *exchange* of properties, such that human properties are ascribed to the Word, and divine properties to the man. It is important to grasp that both the Word and the man are the same *person*: this is what the Chalcedonian union in person means, and it is clearly how John understands the matter too. There is no sense in which the *antidosis* for John entails the ascription of divine properties to the human nature, or of human properties to the divine nature. I will argue for this fully below.

The union of the natures in the person of the Word is spelled out by John in terms of the Stoic theory of mixture or *krasis.* But he uses a category inspired by Neoplatonic theories of participation—namely, deification (*theōsis*)—as the major causal explanation of the union. According to this aspect of John's theory, the human nature comes to share in certain divine attributes. This sharing has a causal role in the *krasis* and, I shall argue, forms part of a complex of ideas used by John fundamentally to talk about what we might call the union *in fieri:* the causal processes required for the origination and conservation of the union. *Krasis* and related notions are used, contrariwise, as a way of talking about the union *in facto esse* (as I shall term it): the result of the causal processes that bring it about.

I shall argue, against G. L. Prestige, that John is perfectly serious about the human nature's participation in the divine attributes—this participation is more than just a way of *talking* about the union *in facto esse* with no correlate in reality.[6] But I shall also note that the two theories—deification and *krasis*—are in principle independent; combining them as John does (such that one causally explains the other) requires an acceptance of a very distinctive cluster of ideas—probably originating in Porphyry—about what it is for part of a

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Hales' Theology of the Hypostatic Union, vol. 2 of *The Theology of the Hypostatic Union in the Early Thirteenth Century,* Studies and Texts 12 (Toronto, 1967), 209–10.

[6] See Leonard Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις in the Fathers," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1928): 242–52 at 251. I quote the relevant passage in section 4 below.

composite to be itself the cause of the composition. Confusingly, John uses *perichōrēsis* to talk about both of these relationships. Briefly, and very loosely, when talking about the predication of divine and human attributes of the one person, John talks of the two natures interpenetrating each other, or their mutual perichoresis or mixture (note that the verb "to interpenetrate" can translate among other Greek words *perichōreō,* the verbal cognate of *perichōrēsis*). When talking about the deification of the human nature, John talks of the divine nature (actively) interpenetrating the human nature, or the interpenetration being *from* the divine nature. I shall distinguish these sorts of interpenetration carefully: only the active interpenetration of the divine nature into the human is causal, and this causation is properly understood against the background of Neoplatonic theories of participation. The mutual interpenetration of the two natures is a way of talking about a state—that of being mixed—and the background is Stoic. In arguing this, I shall be arguing against the interpretation of H. A. Wolfson, who holds on the basis of a reading of a passage from Ps.-Cyril lifted by John of Damascus that the active interpenetration of human nature by the divine nature is simply identified as the divine element in the mutual interpenetration of the natures.[7] On my reading, the divine nature, for John, has two different sorts of interpenetration: the active interpenetration of the human nature (deification, understood in a fundamentally Neoplatonic way; the union *in fieri*), and the state of interpenetration (the state of being in a mixture of which the human nature is the other component or part: Stoic background; the union *in facto esse*).

As I have just suggested, there is an extensive classical philosophical background to John's discussion here, and it is fundamentally (though syncretistically) Stoic. I examine relevant classical theories of mixture—and of union in general—in section 2, along with a thorough account of John's general (non-Christological) treatment of relevant sorts of union. Since John's claim is that the *natures* are mixed, I begin, in section 1, with an examination of John's understanding of (a) nature, so that we can get clear on what precisely it is that John holds to be mixed. This examination will focus on John's theory of universals, and will consider briefly its background in earlier theology. In sections 3 and 4 I look at more specifically Christological material. Section 3 contains a discussion of John's claim that divine and human properties are predicated of the one person, and the background claim that the two natures interpenetrate each other. In section 4, I examine the deification claim, and the background theory that the divine nature actively interpenetrates the human

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[7] See Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers: I. Faith, Trinity, Incarnation,* 3d ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 423–26. I quote the relevant passage in section 4 below.

nature. In my terminology, the material I discuss in section 3 relates to the union *in facto esse,* and the material I discuss in section 4 relates to the union *in fieri.* John's twofold understanding of perichoresis is on the face of it ambiguous, and in a fifth section, I look briefly at the relation between perichoresis and Christological action, again highlighting a seeming ambiguity in John's presentation; John sometimes argues that all activities are ascribed to the one person, but he sometimes claims instead that the divine nature causes the human nature to act in divine-like ways. In the final section, I try to summarize very briefly first the extent to which John makes an original contribution, and secondly the relation of John's Christology to later Western theology in the Middle Ages and Reformation.

It is not always easy to unpack everything that John wants to say, and this is in part a result of his encyclopedist methodology. But I am aware of the possibility of over-interpretation, of imposing on John a degree of theoretical sophistication that he does not possess. I have tried to locate what seems to me to be the most plausible overall reading of everything that John has to say on the matter, and to indicate ways in which my interpretation seems closer to John's text than rival interpretations do. One advantage of my reading over its rivals (notably Prestige's and Wolfson's) is that it allows a place for everything that John says. But to the extent that John does not explicitly offer a synthetic exposition of the whole of his Christological thought, my attempt to reconstruct a part of it must remain speculative.

1. HYPOSTASIS AND NATURE

When commenting on what he saw as the innovation of Ps.-Cyril in understanding Maximus's term *perichōrēsis* to mean interpenetration in a *Christological* (as well as a Trinitarian) context, G. L. Prestige remarks:

> ... since neither of the co-inherent entities in the case of Christ is conceived of as genuinely concrete, the metaphor is forced and not profoundly illuminative of the Christological problem. It is little more than word-play to maintain that two abstractions are co-inherent.[8]

There are at least two reasons for thinking that Prestige's analysis is deficient here. The first is minor—that Prestige was probably wrong to think that Ps.-Cyril was the first to think of using cognates of *perichōrēsis* in the sense of interpenetration in the Christological context. I will return to this in the next section. Secondly, if we examine the Stoic understanding of mixture—which

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[8] G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought,* 2d ed. (London, 1952), 295–96.

is demonstrably the background to this sort of Christological theory—we see that the Stoics do not allow that individuals interpenetrate each other. Quite the contrary—the standard Stoic understanding of mixture allows only that *stuffs* interpenetrate. Again, I shall discuss this now reasonably well-known fact in section 2. Prestige clearly believes—perhaps because of the earlier tradition of thinking of the divine persons in the Trinity as mutually interpenetrative—that it is concrete individuals that interpenetrate. This very different from the Stoic claim (stuffs, after all, are concrete enough, but they are not properly speaking individuals, as I will clarify below).

Prestige's analysis here has a bearing on his understanding of John of Damascus too. All but one of the passages from Ps.-Cyril discussed by Prestige is repeated in John.[9] Prestige's analysis is as far removed from the way in which John of Damascus understands interpenetration in the Christological context as it is from Ps.-Cyril. For it is clear that John consistently distinguishes nature from hypostasis on the grounds that—as we would put it—a nature is an abstraction, while a person is a concrete particular. But for John, there is a sense in which these abstractions are *individuals,* not just universals—so it is hard to see why talk of their interpenetration should be "little more than word-play."[10]

Presumably Prestige has succumbed to the temptation here of thinking that the distinction between abstract and concrete should be understood as equivalent to the distinction between universal and individual. In fact, the situation in John is rather more complex than Prestige allows. As I will show, John is explicit that Christ's human nature is an individual, and thus that at least the human component in the interpenetration that marks the hypostatic

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[9] Compare the references in Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought,* 294–95, with the index in Kotter's edition of *Expos.* (2:252).

[10] As we shall see below, Ps.-Cyril, unlike John of Damascus, was a nominalist. So Prestige's remarks, as applied to Ps.-Cyril, are even further off target than they would be as an analysis of John. I will return to Ps.-Cyril's account of interpenetration in section 4 below. Of course, Ps.-Cyril and John are far from the only thinkers to employ the Stoic notion of mixture in the Christological context. Prestige's remarks might well have more purchase if understood of the use of *krasis* in a thinker such as Leontius of Byzantium. Leontius is happy to make use of *krasis* in Christology: see, e.g., *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* [*Nest. et Eut.*] (*PG* 86:1304A–C); but it is also clear that natures in the Christological context—at any rate in those contexts where Leontius uses the language of *krasis*—are according to Leontius indeed abstract universals: see *Nest. et Eut.* (*PG* 86:1280A–B, 1285D–1288A, 1289D). (Leontius changes his mind about the individuality of Christ's assumed nature, as I argue in my "Individual Natures in the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium," forthcoming.) As I shall show below, John's account is different from this, since he in effect allows individual natures, and claims that it is *these* that interpenetrate. Leontius never makes this point explicitly, or draws it out of the insight he has in his later Christological work. I will provide at the end of this section some explicit evidence that John understands the interpenetrative items to be individuals.

union is indeed an individual, not a universal. But in order to keep together all the things John says about natures, we need to make a distinction. The distinction is between what John labels "particular" natures and what John labels (roughly) "individual" natures. I will begin with John's account of particular natures—which he rejects—and then consider his account of individual natures—which he accepts.

The background to particular natures is John Philoponus. And a further complexity is thereby immediately introduced, because the interpretation of Philoponus is not wholly clear, and there is some reason to suppose that John of Damascus has chosen an unlikely reading of Philoponus. Fortunately, this reading does not affect the understanding of particular natures—as we will see, the debate concerning Philoponus is about the status of universal natures. But this debate makes a difference to John's reasons for rejecting Philoponus's view. So I will start with a very brief account of Philoponus, and then go on to consider John's interpretation. By doing this, I hope we will end up with a very clear idea of the sorts of nature—particular natures—that John of Damascus wants to reject.

As is well known, John Philoponus was consistently accused of tritheism.[11] According to John, the fact that there are three divine persons entails that there are three divine natures and substances. His reasoning is seen most clearly in passages from his *Diaitetes* cited in John of Damascus's *Liber de haeresibus*. For example:

> When the common nature of man . . . is realized in each of the individuals it becomes proper to that individual and common to no other. . . . The rational mortal animal in me is not common to any other animal. In fact whenever a man, an ox, or a horse suffers, it is not impossible for other individuals of the same species not to suffer.[12]

The idea is that the universal nature realized in each human being is distinct both from the universal nature and from the nature as realized in any other human being. The universal nature is repeatable in a way that the nature in the particular is not.[13] One way of interpreting this view is immediately excluded

[11] For a useful summary of some of this, with useful textual support, see the introductory material in R. Y. Ebied, A. van Roey, and L. R. Wickham, eds., *Peter of Callinicum: Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 10 (Leuven, 1981), 25–33.

[12] Philoponus, *Diaitetes* 7, Greek text in John of Damascus, *Haeres.* 83 addit. (4:52.52–57): "Αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ κοινὴ φύσις, ἡ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀτόμων γινομένη ἰδία λοιπὸν ἐκείνου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου κοινὴ γίνεται. . . . Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ζῷον λογικὸν θνητὸν οὐδενὸς ἄλλου κοινόν ἐστιν. Ἀμέλει παθόντος ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἢ βοὸς ἢ ἵππου ἀπαθῆ μένειν τὰ ὁμοειδῆ ἀτόμων οὐκ ἀδύνατον."

[13] I use the term "particular" here, even though Philoponus uses "individual" in this passage, in order to keep in line with the terminology used by John of Damascus. Philoponus

by Philoponus. For a natural way of understanding this would be to hold that the realized nature is identical with the universal nature, and that the particular nature is marked simply by the addition of a unique collection of (universal) accidents. (As we will see below, this is precisely how John of Damascus understands his "individual" natures.) Philoponus expressly excludes this misunderstanding of his position by noting that a particular nature *excludes* accidents—it is this exclusion that distinguishes a particular nature from a hypostasis.[14] So there is no thought that, for example, a particular nature is a bundle of universals including both (universal) nature and (universal) accidents. The nature *as realized* is irreducibly distinct from the nature *as universal*.

The teaching about particular natures is clear enough. A particular nature is distinct from the universal and from all other particular natures—there are as many such natures as there are hypostases—and a particular nature is distinct from these other natures even in abstraction from its accidents. Ambiguity lies in the interpretations commentators have offered about Philoponus's teaching on universals. John of Damascus, for example, as we will see below, understands Philoponus to assert the extramental existence of universals. In this he is followed in modern times by Uwe Lang, arguing on the basis of a passage in Philoponus's commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*.[15] Lang associates Philoponus's position with the Aristotelian tradition of moderate realism that can be traced back to Alexander of Aphrodisias, if not to Aristotle himself. On Alexander's theory, being one or more particular nature is a *property* of the universal.[16] Understood in this way, a universal nature and a particular nature

elsewhere uses "particular nature" (μερικὴ φύσις) in just the sense that I am ascribing to him: see Philoponus, *Diaitetes* 7, Greek text in John of Damascus, *Haeres.* 83 addit. (4:55.187–89); see too Ammonius Hermeias's use of "οὐσία μερική" at, e.g., *In Aristotelis categorias commentarius [In cat.]* 2 (ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4/4 [Berlin, 1895], 25.6–17). John makes a distinction here between terms—"individual" and "particular"—that Philoponus would presumably have regarded as synonymous.

[14] See Ebied, Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 27; and Philoponus, *Diaitetes* 7, Greek text in John of Damascus, *Haeres.* 83 addit. (4:51.34–39 and especially 53.92–95).

[15] See Uwe Michael Lang, "Studies in the Christology of John Philoponus and its Setting in the Controversies over Chalcedon" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1999), 98–99, with reference to Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora commentaria* 2.19 (ed. M. Wallies, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13/3 [Berlin, 1909], 435.11–12).

[16] See, e.g., Boethius's summary of Alexander of Aphrodisias's theory at Boethius, *In isagogen Porphyrii commentum: editio secunda* 1.11 (ed. S. Brandt, CSEL 48 [Vienna and Leipzig, 1906], 167.4–7; translation adapted from Paul Vincent Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals: Porphyry, Boethius, Abelard, Duns Scotus, Ockham* [Indianapolis and Cambridge, 1994], 25): "There is one subject for singularity and universality, but it is universal in one way, when it is thought, and singular in another, when it is sensed in the things in which it has its being" ("[S]ingularitati et uniuersalitati unum quidem subiectum est, sed alio modo

that is an instance of it are not exactly the same thing: the particular nature is distinct from the universal by at least one property. The particular nature is the universal nature + the property of particularity (unrepeatability). So even in this Aphrodisian understanding of Philoponus's view, there is a strong distinction between a universal nature and a particular nature.

In fact, I think that this interpretation of Philoponus is mistaken, and that his acceptance of particular natures is a direct result of his *nominalism*, his belief that universals do not have any extramental existence. The evidence in favor of this seems to me clear enough, and much of it is cited in the introduction to the edition of Peter of Callinicum prepared by Ebied, van Roey, and Wickham.[17] Since the evidence of Philoponus's view found here is explicit in its denial of the extramental existence of the divine essence, and since it is easily accessible, I will not discuss the matter in any detail. For our purposes, perhaps the most interesting argument is the following, found in fragments of Philoponus's *Contra Themestium*. If the divine essence had extramental existence, then we would be forced to accept a quaternity of substances (essences) in God, and hence of hypostases, since every substance is a hypostasis: Father, Son, Spirit, and the common substance.[18] (Although I will

uniuersale est, cum cogitatur, alio singulare, cum sentitur in rebus his in quibus esse suum habet"); for a discussion of the extant fragments of Alexander, see Martin M. Tweedale, "Alexander of Aphrodisias' Views on Universals," *Phronesis*, 29 (1984): 279–303.

[17] See n. 11 above.

[18] See Ebied, Roey, and Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum*, 33. Note too the explicit assertion in Philoponus's treatise *De totalitate et partibus ad Sergium presbyterum*: "Genera and species exist only in the mind's consideration . . . as we have often shown" (Philoponus, *Opuscula Monophysitica*, ed. A. Šanda (Beirut, 1930), 129. Someone interested in defending a realist interpretation of Philoponus could argue that his point is merely that the extramental existence of universals is not the same sort of existence as that of particulars. But there is no reason to prefer this more complex reading over the simpler one that Philoponus is a nominalist. A further attempt to place Philoponus—along with all the Alexandrian commentators—in the realist camp can be found in Linos Benakis, "The Problem of General Concepts in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Thought," in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara (Albany, 1982), 75–86. Benakis argues that the well-known three-fold universal of the Middle Academy should be interpreted in realist manner. Simplicius, for example, distinguishes (i) the universal that is separate from particulars - the "common cause" of these particulars' being the kind of things they are; (ii) the nature existent in each individual of the same kind; and (iii) the abstracted concept: Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias commentarium* 5 (ed. C. Kalbfleisch, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 8 [Berlin, 1907], 82.35–83.20); similar teaching can be found in Ammonius of Hermeias, *In Porphyrii Isagogen sive v voces* (ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4/3 [Berlin, 1891], 41.10–42.26, 68.25–69.11, and the passages cited by Benakis). Simplicius makes it clear that only the third of these—the *concept*—is a genuine universal, a general concept predicable of many. The first is a cause, and the second lacks real identity. Indeed, Ammonius makes it clear that the second is just an aggregate, not the sort of thing that can be instantiated at all (see Benakis, "Problem of General Concepts," 82), though elsewhere Ammonius seems to argue, in more realist fashion, that universals—of a

not discuss it, the passage from the *Posterior Analytics* commentary cited by Lang in favor of John's realism is as susceptible of a nominalist interpretation as the *Diaitetes* is. In effect, all that is required of the commentator is to suppose that the universal or common nature that Philoponus talks about in these texts is simply a concept with no extramental existence.)

John of Damascus unequivocally rejects Philoponus's particular natures, and he does so by turning on its head Philoponus's theological argument against universal natures:

[1]   Because it is not necessary to speak of particular natures, let us understand it thence. For if you confess particular natures in the Holy Trinity, you believe [the Trinity] to be not co-essential, and Arius is revived. If you give its proper essence to each of the divine hypostases of the Holy Trinity, these things which you confess to be co-essential according to the common essence, this being an essence and a hypostasis, then there will be a quaternity of hypostases according to you—three particular and one common, and likewise a quaternity of essences. And each of the hypostases will be of two natures and hypostases, one common and one particular, and they will be co-essential and not co-essential, and of the same hypostasis and not of the same hypostasis.[19]

kind appropriate to explain predication—exist, perhaps making his account a more obvious descendant of Alexander's than Philoponus's is (see Ammonius, *In cat.* 2 [ed. Busse, 25.6–17]). Benakis's claim that the Alexandrian Platonists are realists probably derives simply from a failure to understand that the mainline medieval Western nominalists were not *conventionalists* (in the manner of the later empiricists) on the question of the applicability of general concepts to extramental reality: thus Philotheus Boehner, for example, refers to Ockham's "realistic conceptualism" on the question of universals, in a manner analogous to the Neoplatonists' "conceptual realism" in Benakis's account (see Boehner, "The Realistic Conceptualism of William Ockham," in his *Collected Articles on Ockham,* ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, Franciscan Institute Publications Philosophy Series 12 [St. Bonaventure, Louvain, and Paderborn, 1958], 156–74). (Benakis's article is marred generally by some misleading claims about the theories of the medieval Schoolmen.) The well-known Neoplatonist claim—directed against Alexander of Aphrodisias—that secondary substance is somehow prior to primary substance is not inconsistent with nominalism. The "universal" secondary substance prior to the individual is not the formal explanation for true predication, but the efficient cause of being. (Metaphysical realism, contrary to nominalism, posits that universal secondary substance is the formal cause in true predications.)

[19] *Jacob.* 9–10 (4:113.4[9]–9[10]): "Ὅτι δὲ οὐ μερικὰς φύσεις λέγειν ἐχρῆν, ἐντεῦθεν εἰσόμεθα. Εἰ μερικὰς φύσεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ὁμολογεῖτε, ἑτεροούσιον ταύτην δοξάζετε, καὶ πάλιν ἐγήγερται Ἄρειος. Εἰ δὲ ἑκάστῃ τῶν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος θεαρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιάζουσαν δῶτε οὐσίαν — ὁμοουσίους δὲ ταύτας κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν οὐσίαν ὁμολογήσετε, ταὐτὸν δὲ οὐσία τε καὶ ὑπόστασις —, ἔσται καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς τετρὰς ὑποστάσεων, τριῶν μὲν μερικῶν, μιᾶς δὲ κοινῆς, καὶ οὐσιῶν ὁμοίως τετράς. Καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν ὑποστάσεων δύο φύσεών τε καὶ ὑποστάσεων, μιᾶς μὲν κοινῆς, μιᾶς δὲ μερικῆς, καὶ ἔσονται ὁμοούσιοι καὶ ἑτεροούσιοι, ὁμοϋπόστατοί τε καὶ ἑτεροϋπόστατοι." A little later, John draws the conclusion that the monophysites' view amounts to viewing a nature as a hy-

John's argument presents his opponent with a dilemma: either there are no extramental universal natures, in which case no divine person will be *homoousios* with another, and Arianism will be true; or there are extramental universal natures, in which case, if we posit particular natures too, we will end up with a quaternity of essences in the Trinity, and thus (given Philoponus's assumption that every nature is a hypostasis) a quaternity of hypostases. The argument is *ad hominem* in the sense that the assumption that every nature is a hypostasis would (as we shall see in a moment) be regarded as counterfactual by John.

In fact, both parts of this argument seem highly questionable. Philoponus could respond to the Arian challenge by (in standard nominalist fashion) appealing to relations of similarity between hypostases of the same kind.[20] And he could deal with the second by arguing that there is no reason for an extramental universal nature to be a hypostasis—though given the precise profile of Philoponus's theory, this last argument would not be open to him.

However we assess the force of the argument, I think it is clear that [1] represents a clear rejection of the sort of particular natures that I have been discussing thus far. John is explicit, in fact, that natures, properly speaking, are universals:

[2]   And so according to the holy Fathers nature is the common and indefinite, truly the most special species: such as man, horse, bull; hypostasis is the particular and existent in itself, such as Peter, Paul, John. For nature is common, encompassing and including many, for each species is nature. . . . For it is necessary to see that nature is such a thing, and essence, and form, according to the holy Fathers. But hypostasis is a certain essence with accidents, assigned in actuality and reality existence in itself properly and separately from other hypostases, sharing, on the one hand, with individuals of the same species in the formula of nature, but in certain accidents and properties having difference with respect to an individual of the same species and the same nature.[21]

postasis, such that three divine hypostases would entail three divinities, and infinitely many human hypostases infinitely many human natures: *Jacob.* 14 (4:115.8–116.12). If natures are singular, then there will be as many of each of them as there are instances of each of them. For ease of reference I number all extended quotations from John.

[20] This is just the strategy employed by the nominalist Chalcedonian Leontius of Jerusalem: see, e.g., *Contra Nestorianos* 1.22 (*PG* 86:1488D–1489A).

[21] *Volunt.* 4 (4:177b.1–178b.32): "Φύσις μὲν οὖν ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀόριστον ἤτοι τὸ εἰδικώτατον εἶδος, οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος, βοῦς, ὑπόστασις δὲ τὸ μερικὸν τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ὑφεστώς, οἷον Πέτρος, Παῦλος, Ἰωάννης. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις κοινόν ἐστι συνάγον καὶ περιέχον πολλούς· ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος φύσις ἐστί. . . . Εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ, ὅτι τουτόν ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας φύσις καὶ οὐσία καὶ μορφή. Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία τίς ἐστι μετὰ συμβεβηκότων, τὴν καθ' αὐτὸ ὕπαρξιν ἰδιαιρέτως καὶ

Nature here is *common,* it "includes many," and it is identified as Porphyry's *species specialissima*—and thus classified under the *predicables.* Hypostasis is particular and existent in itself, and it is individuated by "accidents and properties." These accidents and properties are themselves universal. John is explicit in claiming that accidents share the feature of predicability (universality) with species (and thus, as we learn from [1], natures).[22] So a hypostasis is a (self-existent) universal nature + (a unique collection of) universal accidents.

Indeed, elsewhere John makes it clear that a nature is itself a collection of non-contingent properties (*idiōmata*):

[3] For a natural property is that which constitutes nature, apart from which the nature whose property it is cannot exist, as life, reason, perception, walking, breathing, will, action, death, and such like things in the case of man. . . . A natural property is what constitutes a nature and distinguishes species from species, that is, nature from another nature, and is seen in each hypostasis of the same species (for example, the rational and the mortal).[23]

Properties here cannot be accidents, despite John's mention of the hypostasis at the end of this passage, since accidents cannot distinguish species from species.[24] Equally, the properties John has in mind cannot be exclusively Aris-

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ἀποτετμημένως τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ πράγματι κληρωσαμένη, τὸ κοινωνοῦν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ἀτόμοις τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, συμβεβηκόσι δέ τισι καὶ χαρακτηριστικοῖς αὐτῆς ἰδιώμασι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοειδές τε καὶ ὁμοφυὲς ἄτομον ἔχον διαφοράν." See also *Aceph.* 4 (4:412.6–7[4]); *Expos.* 47 (2:112.39–113.49). A note on terminology is perhaps in order here, since clearly the English term "nature" can in principle translate a number of possible Greek terms: *ousia, eidos, phusis, morphē.* Likewise, the English term "person" can translate at least two different Greek terms: *hupostasis* and *prosopon.* According to John, philosophers customarily make a distinction between these different terms, whereas theologians treat all of the "nature" terms as synonymous, and likewise all of the "person" terms: see John, *Dial.* 31 (1:93–94 for nature terms, and 1:94–95 for person terms). Since John seems to follow the usage of the theologians, I shall not be too concerned to distinguish the different Greek terms by different English terms unless it seems that John has a particular philosophical distinction in mind. In any case, John almost invariably uses *phusis* in Christological contexts. Likewise, his preferred term for person in this context is *hupostasis.*

[22] *Dial.* 28 (1:92.2–3[28]); *Expos.* 50 (2:120.8–13); *Volunt.* 4 (4:177b.121–178b.40).

[23] *Volunt.* 5 (4:179b.1–10, 180b.22–28): "Φυσικὸν μὲν οὖν ἰδίομά ἐστι τὸ τὴν φύσιν συνιστῶν, οὗ χωρὶς οὐ δύναται συστῆναι ἡ φύσις, ἧς ὑπάρχει ἰδίωμα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ζωτικόν, τὸ λογικόν, τὸ αἰσθητικόν, τὸ βαδιστικόν, τὸ ἀναπνευστικόν, τὸ θελητικόν, τὸ ἐνεργητικόν, τὸ θνητὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. . . . Φυσικὸν οὖν ἰδίομά ἐστι τὸ συνιστῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ χωρίζον εἶδος ἀπὸ εἴδους, τουτέστι φύσιν ἀπὸ ἄλλης φύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ὑποστάσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἴδους θεωρούμενον, οἷον τὸ λογικὸν καὶ τὸ θνητόν."

[24] This point is further obscured by John's tendency to see *diaphora, poiotēs,* and *idiōma* as synonymous: see *Dial.* 12 (1:81.1–2[12]).

totelian *differentiae*, or exclusively Aristotelian *propria*, for the list he gives includes both the *differentia* of man and things that might count as *propria*, and it includes them on an equal footing. I am supposing that John holds a nature to be constituted of all the properties necessary for that nature—a position that has (as I will point out below) a Christological use that John availed himself of only implicitly.

Thus far, then, John affirms unequivocally that a (universal) nature is a collection of (universal) properties, and that a (particular) hypostasis is this nature along with a unique collection of (universal) accidents. This might suggest that John understands the Incarnation to be nothing other than the assumption of universal human nature. And sometimes he speaks in just this way:

[4]   [God] bears in himself the common nature of the humanity.[25]

But although John holds that the Incarnation does unite universal human nature to the divine person, he does not hold that this is all that it does. John holds that the Word assumed a (universal) human nature along with a unique collection of universal accidents:

[5]   Nature is either abstracted in mere thought (for it does not exist in itself); or [is considered] commonly in all hypostases of the same species, binding them, and is then said to be nature considered in the species; or [is considered] wholly in one hypostasis, the same [but] with the addition of accidents, and is then said to be nature considered in the individual. God the Word incarnate therefore neither assumed nature abstracted in thought alone (for this is not Incarnation, but a deception and the mere appearance of Incarnation), nor the nature considered in the species (for he did not assume all hypostases), but the [nature] in the individual—this being the same as [the nature considered] in the species.[26]

Nature in the first sense—abstracted from particulars—is merely a concept, and has no extramental existence. The two important senses here are the second and third: nature considered in the species, and nature considered in the

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[25] *Transfig.* 11 (5:449.7–8[11]): "[Θεὸς] τὸ κοινὸν φέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος πρόσωπον"; presumably "κοινὸν . . . πρόσωπον" is a mistake for "κοινήν . . . φύσιν."

[26] *Expos.* 55 (2:131.4–11): "Ἡ φύσις ἢ ψιλῇ θεωρίᾳ κατανοεῖται (καθ᾽ αὐτὴν γὰρ οὐχ ὑφέστηκεν), ἢ κοινῶς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ὑποστάσεσι ταύτας συνάπτουσα καὶ λέγεται ἐν τῷ εἴδει θεωρουμένη φύσις, ἢ ὁλικῶς ἡ αὐτὴ ἐν προσλήψει συμβεβηκότων ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει καὶ λέγεται ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένη φύσις. Ὁ οὖν θεὸς λόγος σαρκωθεὶς οὔτε τὴν ἐν ψιλῇ θεωρίᾳ κατανοουμένην φύσιν ἀνέλαβεν (οὐ γὰρ σάρκωσις τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάτη καὶ πλάσμα σαρκώσεως) οὔτε τὴν ἐν τῷ εἴδει θεωρουμένην (οὐ γὰρ πάσας τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἀνέλαβεν), ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἀτόμῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῷ εἴδει."

individual. The nature considered in the species is that object that is repeated in each individual. The nature in the individual is exactly the same object as the universal but considered with the addition of accidents. The nature in the individual is thus a collection of universal nature + (a unique collection of) universal accidents.

Clearly, this account of the nature in the individual is closely related to the notion of hypostasis discussed above, and I will return to the question of why this nature is not the same as a hypostasis in a moment. The most important thing to get clear is that the nature in the individual is not the same as Philoponus's particular natures. Philoponus's particular natures are distinct from common natures; and this distinction does not intrinsically involve the presence or absence of accidents, because, as we have seen, a particular nature is distinct from a hypostasis by the lack of accidents. Particular natures are thus not distinguished from universal natures by the addition of accidents. The addition of accidents might *cause* the distinction, but the particular nature as such is distinct from the universal nature in some way independent of its possession of accidents. On this Aphrodisian understanding of particular natures, such natures are distinct from universal natures, in effect, by being unrepeatable. The universal nature is, and the particular nature is not, repeatable.

John's individual natures are not like this. The universal nature is a *part* of an individual nature, and the nature in the individual is as repeatable as the nature in the species. (It must be, because unlike the Aphrodisian particular nature it is identical with the nature in the species.) But the nature in the individual is considered as united to a unique collection of universal accidents, and this whole—the bundle of nature and accidents—is presumably particular or individual in the sense of being a unique collection, a collection that nothing else is. To clarify, the nature in the individual is just the common nature, but the term "nature" here is equivocal, because we can use it to refer not just to this common nature but also to the whole that is a composite of common nature and universal accidents.[27]

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[27] There is some counterevidence to this reading that might make John look more like Alexander and his followers on this question. Following Aristotle, as interpreted by (the nominalist) Porphyry, John holds that a species is *divided* into each of its individual instances: *Dial.* 6 (1:65.50–56); for Porphyry, see, e.g., *Isagoge* (*Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4/1 [Berlin, 1887], trans. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals*, 6): "The many men are one by participation in the species, but the one common man, the species, is made several by its individuals." (On Porphyry's nominalism, see A. C. Lloyd, *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism* [Oxford, 1990], chap. 2; see also Sten Ebbesen, "Porphyry's Legacy to Logic: A Reconstruction," in *Aristotle Transformed: the Ancient Commentators and their Influence,* ed. Richard Sorabji [London, 1990], 141–71.) John appears to view divisibility here as equivalent to some sort of predicability relationship (*Dial.* 9 [1:73.36–46]), such that this predicability relationship is taken as entailing,

Why should John adopt this understanding of the assumed human nature in Christ? Why should he not just claim that the Word assumed the nature in the species? [5] is not entirely clear about this. According to [5], the reason is that the assumption of the nature in the species would amount to the assumption of all human hypostases. One reading of this would be to claim—in fashion analogous the Aphrodisian tradition as I have been presenting it here—that the nature in the species is distinct from the nature in the individual, such that the nature in the species is repeatable (possessed by many hypostases), whereas the nature in the individual is unrepeatable (possessed by just one hypostasis). But I want to reject this reading of individual natures in John, ascribing to him instead the view that the nature in the individual is exactly the same nature as is possessed by all other individuals of that kind. We should gloss John's argument in [5] as follows. Universal natures do not exist *ante rem:* if there are no individuals, there is no nature. So there is no nature that exists without accidents. Thus, the assumption of (say) human nature must amount to the assumption of common nature + accidents. The nature in the species is the nature considered in abstraction from these or those accidents. Since the nature that exists in abstraction from these or those accidents is just the nature that exists in *every* individual (there are no universals *ante rem*), it will follow that the assumption of the nature in the species will amount to the assumption of the nature in every individual, and thus that every individual would be assumed. The argument is not very elegant, but this is the best that can be offered here.

As thus far described, the nature in the species appears to be the same as a hypostasis. But this is too cursory a reading of John. As we saw in [2], a hypostasis exists "in itself and separately," and there is nothing about the notion of a universal nature + accidents that entails this sort of independent existence. As is well known, John appeals to the notion of enhypostatic existence to distinguish subsistent from non-subsistent natures, and I will not consider the matter further here.[28]

What is the origin of John's teaching here? I have been distinguishing it from the sort of view that we find in Alexander of Aphrodisias, according to which being a particular is a property of the common or universal nature. John's view seems different from this, in two ways. First of all, the theory of

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or corresponding to, an extramental relationship. But we do not need to see the division of a species in terms of the species itself becoming in any sense numerically many, as on the Aphrodisian view, it might be no more than a question of the repetition of one and the same object, as on the Cappadocian view that I describe in a moment.

[28] See U. M. Lang, "Anhypostatos-Enhypostatos: Church Fathers, Protestant Orthodoxy and Karl Barth," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 49 (1998): 630–57.

universals as such is rather different from the Aphrodisian one. According to John, the universal is one and the same in each instance; it does not in any sense "become" many on its instantiation, as it does in the philosophical tradition. Secondly, for John an individual nature is merely a bundle of universals, whereas in the Aphrodisian tradition a particular nature is irreducibly particular: no part of it is universal.

Both elements of this thesis have theological, rather than philosophical, antecedents. The first claim, about universal natures, derives from the Cappadocian understanding of the Trinity. According to Gregory of Nyssa, for example, the divine essence is just one object repeated in each of the particulars that exhibit it:

> [The nature of many men] is one, at union in itself, and an absolutely indivisible unit, not capable of increase by addition or of diminution by subtraction, but in its essence being and continually remaining one. . . . "Man" [is] said to be one, even though those who are exhibited to us in the same nature make up a plurality.[29]

This amounts to a denial of particular natures in the Aphrodisian sense, and looks reasonable as a source for John's teaching on the nature in the species.

The source for John's teaching on the nature in the individual is theological too. In this case, however, the source is not the Cappadocians, because the Cappadocians never include accidents among the constituent parts of a nature, reserving accidents to be the mark of the hypostasis. The source is rather later: specifically, some claims that Leontius of Byzantium makes in the opening chapter of the *Epilyseis*. I deal with Leontius's teaching in detail elsewhere, and will not rehearse the material again here.[30]

Thus far, I hope to have established that John accepts the existence of extramental universals.[31] There is one passage that seems to constitute evidence against this claim, and I will consider it now for the sake of thoroughness:

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[29] Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablabium* (*Opera Dogmatica Minora. Pars 1* [= *Opera* 3/1], ed. F. Mueller [Leiden, 1958], 41.2–5, 10–12, trans. H. A. Wilson in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2d ser., 5 [Oxford and New York, 1843], 332a).

[30] See my "Individual Natures in the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium." I discuss Gregory of Nyssa's view in more detail in this article too.

[31] On this, see too Lloyd, *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism*, 72–73: "In Constantinople and the Eastern Empire John Damascene had great influence, and he took the realist line, apparently without finding it incompatible with the remaining properties of a conceptualist universal. It had already been insisted on in more than one passage of Simplicius' *Categories* commentary. At bottom the reason is that he did not accept the 'nominalist' interpretation of Aristotle and believed . . . that *in re* forms were universals." Lloyd, however, clearly interprets John in more philosophical style than I am, placing him in what I have been labelling the "Aphrodisian" tra-

[6]   It is necessary to understand that it is one thing to see something in reality, and
another to see it in reason and thought. For in all creatures, the division of hy-
postases is seen in reality: for in reality Peter is seen separate from Paul; and
community and conjunction and unity are seen in reason and thought. For we
know by thought that Peter and Paul are of the same nature and have one
common nature.[32]

This passage is part of a near quotation from Ps.-Cyril, and in the original
forms part of the strongest evidence in favor of this writer's nominalism.[33] We
should not understand it as such in John, because—as I have tried to show—
there is plenty of evidence that John rejects nominalism. [6] in fact is a good
example of the problems that arise from John's seemingly indiscriminate bor-
rowing, since on the face of it it is not clear that [6] has a respectable non-
nominalist sense, or that we should try to find one. Still, we should not be
satisfied with the thought that John was so woefully careless and negligent in
his choice of sources, so if we can find a reasonable realist reading of [6] then
we should do. And I believe that there is one. [6] is part of a passage that
contrasts the divine nature with created natures. In God, the unity of the di-
vine nature is seen in reality, whereas the distinction of persons is known only
in thought.[34] In creatures, contrariwise, it is distinction that we see in reality,
and commonness that we discover through thought. There is no sense in
which the distinction of the divine persons is only conceptual; likewise, there-
fore, there is no sense in which the commonness of a created nature is only
conceptual. [6], as understood by John, is just about the *ordo inventionis*: the
way in which we come to discover things. The commonness of a creaturely
essence is real, but we discover it through abstraction.

dition (though note that Lloyd believes [wrongly in my view] that Alexander of Aphrodisias
was a nominalist).

    [32] *Expos.* 8 (2:28.223–28): "Χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἕτερόν ἐστι τὸ πράγματι θεωρεῖσθαι
καὶ ἄλλο τὸ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ. Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ἡ μὲν τῶν ὑπο-
στάσεων διαίρεσις πράγματι θεωρεῖται· πράγματι γὰρ ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ Παύλου κεχωρισ-
μένος θεωρεῖται. Ἡ δὲ κοινότης καὶ ἡ συνάφεια καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ θεωρεῖται.
Νοοῦμεν γὰρ τῷ νῷ, ὅτι ὁ Πέτρος καὶ ὁ Παῦλος τῆς αὐτῆς εἰσι φύσεως καὶ κοινὴν μίαν
ἔχουσι φύσιν."

    [33] Ps.-Cyril, *De sacrosancta Trinitate [Trin.]* 10 (*PG* 77:1141CD); for further evidence of
Ps.-Cyril's nominalism, see *Trin.* 12 (*PG* 77:1149B).

    [34] *Expos.* 8 (2:28.238–29.253). On the distinction between seeing something in reason and
in thought, see Jakob Bilz, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus. Mit besonderer
Berücksichtung des Verhältnisses der griechischen zur lateinischen Auffassungsweise des Ge-
heimnisses,* Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte 9/3 (Paderborn,
1909), 67–76. At pp. 7–9, Bilz offers a reading of my [5], though without spotting the rele-
vance of the passage to John's theory of universals.

John is clear what interpenetrate each other in a mix such as the hypostatic union are not merely universal natures but individual natures: non-subsistent but fully individual components or parts of a concrete hypostasis, where such individuals are bundles of universal properties. Important texts occur below that can be taken as evidence for John's view: particularly [11] and [18], where John makes it clear that it is natures along with their qualities that interpenetrate; in [18] John counts among the qualities of the human nature the clearly *accidental* (and therefore individuating) property of being crucified. Equally, John frequently follows Leo in ascribing activities (and therefore accidents) to the natures as much as to the person: see, e.g., texts [17] and [19] below. The divine nature too is individual: it is the divine nature as possessed by the Word. Expounding Cyril's "one nature" formula, John comments:

[7]   Therefore, to say "the nature of the Word" is not to refer to the hypostasis alone, or to what is common to the hypostases, but to the common nature seen wholly in the hypostasis of the Word.[35]

I will return to this in sections 3 and 4. (As we shall see in section 4, the view that natures are individuals is in any case logically presupposed to much of what John has to say about deification.) In the next section, I want to look more closely at the notion of mixture, so that, having seen exactly what it is that is mixed, we can see what it is for these things to be mixed.

2. TYPES OF UNION

That the term *krasis*—mixture—should have made it into the tradition in the Christological context is perhaps surprising. After all, moderate monophysites such as Severus of Antioch find the term suspect,[36] and the principal orthodox theologians to use the term prior to the orthodox party in the Monothelite controversy—namely the Cappadocians—used it in a way that suggested the complete obliteration of the human nature.[37] Still, the very eminence of these thinkers was perhaps sufficient justification for the use of the term. Cyril of Alexandria found himself constrained to defend the use of the

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[35] *Expos.* 55 (2:132.42–44): ""Ὥστε τὸ εἰπεῖν »φύσιν τοῦ λόγου« οὔτε τὴν ὑπόστασιν μόνην σημαίνει οὔτε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου ὑποστάσει ὁλικῶς θεωρουμένην."

[36] See conveniently Iain R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich, 1988), 116–17.

[37] For references, see Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers,* 397–98. One major theologian to have made *krasis* a central feature of his Christology was Apollinaris—so on the face of it the word has a very mixed Christological heritage.

term by earlier Fathers, though he notes that the Christological use of the term is strictly speaking improper since it should not (contrary to appearances) be understood to imply any sort of confusion (*anakhusis*).[38] As we shall see, the Cappadocian understanding of *krasis* has a clearly Aristotelian background, whereas the background to John's use of the term is Stoic—and it is this different background that enables John to use the term in a clearly orthodox sense.

The verb *perichōreō* crops up in the Cappadocians too—specifically, Gregory of Nazianzus:

> As the natures, so also the appellations are mixed and they penetrate into each other by reason of their coalescence.[39]

According to Prestige, the relevant sense here is "to reciprocate":

> [This] meaning is retained when he [viz. Gregory of Nazianzus] maintains . . . that our Lord in His human nature is often referred to by titles properly and strictly indicative of His divine nature; like the natures, he points out, so also the titles are mingled, and "reciprocate" into one another—in brief, are alternative.[40]

Wolfson more plausibly suggests in effect that Gregory is thinking specifically not of an active reciprocation of attributes but of a state—a mix of attributes, consequent upon a mix of natures.[41] After all, the appellations' mutual penetration appears in the passage from Gregory of Nazianzus to be equivalent to their mixture. And in this sense, it is clear that John's use of the substantival cognate *perichōrēsis*—itself derived from Maximus—does in-

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[38] Cyril of Alexandria, *Ad Nestorium* 1.3 (in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 1.1.6, ed. E. Schwartz [Berlin and Leipzig, 1928], 22.7–10); interestingly, Cyril expressly denies in this passage that the union of natures can legitimately be likened to the mixture of two liquids—an analogy that John, with (as we shall see) a clearer grasp of possible Stoic understandings of mixture, can implicitly accept.

[39] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistola* 101 (*PG* 37:181C): "κιροαμένων ὥσπερ τῶν φύσεων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν κλήσεων, καὶ περιχωρουσῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συμφυΐας"; the translation is from Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 421.

[40] Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 292. The results of Prestige's researches show too in the relevant entries in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961)—see Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, ix–x, and the preface to *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, iii–iv n. 1—and in the difficulty suggested in the *Lexicon* in distinguishing different Christological senses of, e.g., *perichōrēsis:* see ibid., 1077b.

[41] Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 421–22. For a rejection of Prestige's somewhat curious view (a view relying on the insight that *perichōreō* has something to do with the idea of rotation), see too Keetje Rozemond, *La Christologie de saint Jean Damascène*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 8 (Ettal, 1959), 29–31.

deed have much earlier Patristic sources.[42] But the way in which John understands this mingling of attributes has a very specific philosophical background, and I will spend the first part of this section looking at this background, before going on to look at the different sorts of union allowed by John. The relevant philosophical sources are Aristotelian and Stoic, and the material is now reasonably well known.[43]

We can isolate three relevant sorts of combination in Aristotle: *sunthesis* (juxtaposition), *mixis* (mixture), and that species of mixture in which one element is said to predominate the others. Unlike some of his atomistic predecessors, Aristotle believes that *sunthesis* is not a genuine mixture at all, since the juxtaposed objects are not in any way altered by their juxtaposition.[44] In a *mixis,* the ingredients remain, but they exist merely *potentially.*[45] Working out what this potential existence amounts to has cost commentators a great deal of trouble. As usually understood, Aristotle holds that the powers and qualities of the original ingredients remain, whereas the ingredients themselves do not—an interpretation that is supported by some passages of Aristotle which appear to make just this claim.[46] At any rate, there is general agreement that Aristotle intends the elements of a *mixis* to form a *tertium quid,* different in kind from any of its components. The standard Aristotelian example of this is the mixture of the four elements to form natural substances.[47] Thirdly and finally, the sort of *mixis* that commentators usually refer to as predominance is that union where the minor ingredient is completely destroyed, like a drop of wine in ten thousand gallons of water.[48]

The Stoics similarly discuss three sorts of case of combination. A standard account can be found in Chrysippus, as reported in two different writers, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Arius Didymus. Alexander reports Chrysippus as distinguishing between three sorts of mixture (*mixis*): *sunthesis, sunkhusis,* and *krasis.*[49] *Sunthesis* is like Aristotle's juxtaposition—a heap of beans and

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[42] Understanding Maximus, too, is somewhat problematic. I will return to this at the end of section 3 below.

[43] For my discussions of both Aristotle and the Stoics, I am heavily indebted to the pellucid account of all these matters in Richard Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and their Sequel* (London, 1988), chaps. 5 and 6; see too Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers,* 372–86.

[44] Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione* 1.10 (327a35–b3, 328a6).

[45] Ibid. (327b22–31).

[46] Ibid. (328a29); ibid. 2.6 (333a24–7).

[47] Ibid. 2.7 (334b8–30).

[48] Ibid. 1.10 (328a23–28); see too *De sensu* 6 (446a7–10); and *Politica* 2.4 (1262b17).

[49] For the whole discussion, see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione* [*Mixt.*] 3 (*Scripta Minora,* ed. Ivo Bruns, Supplementum Aristotelicum 2/2 [Berlin, 1892], 216.9–217.13; also in Johann von Arnim, ed. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* [*SVF*], 4 vols. [Leipzig, 1903–24],

wheat, in the example Alexander gives. *Sunkhusis*—fusion or confusion—corresponds to (and [consciously?] corrects) Aristotle's *mixis*. In Aristotle's *mixis*, the substances are destroyed, although their powers remain. In Chrysippus's *sunkhusis*, both the substances and their powers are destroyed, and their mixture produces—as with Aristotle's *mixis*—a *tertium quid*, a new kind of thing. The most interesting case is *krasis*. *Krasis* is the genuine interpenetration of two components, such that both the substances and the qualities of the components remain. (Contrast Aristotle's predominance, where one of the substances remains while the other is destroyed.) This interpenetration is not supposed to entail that the components in any sense exist side by side. The components occupy exactly the same space as each other.[50]

A similar account of Chrysippus—or at least of "members of the Stoic school"—is given by Arius Didymus. Arius reports four sorts of combination according to the Stoics: *parathesis, sunkhusis, mixis,* and *krasis.*[51] *Parathesis* is juxtaposition—a heap of wheat, barley, and lentils, or of pebbles and sand on the seashore, to use Arius's examples. *Sunkhusis* involves the destruction of the qualities of the ingredients. Arius cites the *sunthesis* of perfumes and drugs.[52] *Mixis* and *krasis* are similar: the interpenetration of two sorts of stuff, such that both the stuffs and their qualities remain. *Mixis* is the interpenetration of two bodies—Arius's examples (significant in the light of the examples later used by John) are iron and fire, and body and soul[53]—*krasis* the interpenetration of two fluids—wine and water, for example.

It is important to understand that Stoic *krasis/mixis*, as understood by the Stoics themselves, is not a relation that can hold between two persons or discrete individuals.[54] The sorts of thing that interpenetrate each other are kinds

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2:154.6–155.4 [n. 473]). Both this and the next passage are translated in Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion*, 81–83.

[50] Wolfson mistakenly believes that this Stoic *krasis* "is ultimately an imperceptible 'juxtaposition' or 'composition' " (*Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 420 n. 11), a juxtaposition that Wolfson understands atomistically: interpenetration "at all points" (*Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 420). This is a misunderstanding: the bodies are not juxtaposed in their smallest parts or at points; they truly exist in exactly the same place, such that there is no part of portion of the one which is not touching a part of the other. (This last claim is *not* the same as claiming that the bodies touch at all points, since they can touch at all points only if bodies are composed of points.)

[51] Arius Didymus, *Epitomes*, fragm. 28, ap. Stobaeum, *Eclogae* 1.17 (in H. Diels, ed., *Doxographi Graeci* [Berlin, 1879], 463.14–464.8; also in *SVF* 2:152–53 [n. 471]).

[52] Note that the use of *sunthesis* here differs radically from that reported in Alexander, where it means juxtaposition—though this is a merely terminological matter, and as we will see, is echoed in a similar flexibility over the term *sunthesis* found in John of Damascus.

[53] For the iron and fire example, see too Alexander, *Mixt.* 4 (ed. Bruns, 217.32–36; *SVF* 2:155.24–29 [n. 473]).

[54] See an argument of Chrysippus's to this effect, reported in Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 8

of (concrete but not individual) *stuff*—the elements, or an element and a composite like iron. John of Damascus—as I shall show below—speaks of interpenetration as a relation that holds between (individual) natures, not hypostases (the properly individuated *bearers* of these natures), a position that seems not wholly unrelated to the Stoic view: this view, in a nutshell, is that the things that interpenetrate each other are concrete but not individual; John's view—at least in the Christological context—is that the things that interpenetrate each other are individual but abstract (in the sense of dependent). Both views unite in denying that concrete individuals interpenetrate.

There is another feature of the Stoic account of *krasis/mixis* that needs to be considered too. As defined in the summaries of Chrysippus cited above, neither of these sorts of union involve any exchange of attributes *between* the two mixed objects. In the case of a *krasis* of iron and fire, it is not properly speaking the case that the iron itself gains the attribute of heat, or that the fire gains an ability to cut. What both heats and cuts is the *krasis* of iron and fire, the composite whole that includes these two components. What heats is the fire, and what cuts is the iron. As I shall show below, John's understanding of these matters is more complex than this. The complexity seems to me to be traceable to an account of the union of body and soul that can be found in fragments of Porphyry's *Quaestiones mixtae,* book 2, preserved in Nemesius's *De natura hominis*. Nemesius's *De natura hominis* is a source clearly known to John—he quotes from it on numerous occasions, and reproduces in various places what amounts to a large proportion of the whole work. Although John does not quote the passage I am about to cite, it is clear that his teaching on *krasis* bears a marked resemblance to it.

The material in Nemesius is itself derived verbatim from Porphyry, a fragment in which he tries to adapt Stoic theories of mixture to show how an immaterial soul could be united to a body. Porphyry himself claims to have derived this account of the soul-body union from Ammonius Saccas. As Porphyry sets up the issue, what requires explaining is this:

> How therefore does the body still remain a body when it has been united with the soul, or again how is the soul, which is incorporeal and has its own essence, united with the body ... while retaining its own essence unconfused and undestroyed?[55]

(ed. F. Cumont [Berlin, 1896], 15.12–16.5; *SVF* 2:131.6–22 [n. 397]), and the discussion in Sorabji, *Matter, Space, and Motion,* 104–5.

[55] Porphyry, fragm. 259 F (ed. Andrew Smith, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana [Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1983], 280a.17–24) = Nemesius, *De natura hominis* [*Nat. hom.*] 3 (ed. Moreno Morani, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana [Leipzig, 1987], 38.17–20): "πῶς οὖν ἢ σῶμα ἡνωμένον τῇ ψυχῇ ἔτι μένει

So, as Porphyry understands the solution to this (that he takes from Ammonius), the solution is consistent with the view that both components—body and soul—retain all their properties. The solution involves adapting the Stoics' *krasis* in such a way as to allow a body to interpenetrate with something *immaterial*—namely, the soul. I will first cite the relevant passages, and then offer a commentary.[56]

> Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, solves the question in this way. He said that intelligible objects have a nature such that they can both be united with things capable of receiving them (just as things which have been destroyed can), and yet remain unconfused and undestroyed while united (just as things which are placed together do). So for bodies their unity always effects a change of the constituents, given that they change into other bodies (as the elements change into compounds and food into blood, and blood into flesh and the remaining parts of the body), whereas for intelligible objects unity is achieved, but change does not accompany it. And for intelligibles, union occurs, but change does not follow from it. For intelligibles do not by nature change with respect to their essence, but either depart or perish into non-existence without being subject to change. Yet they do not perish into non-existence either, otherwise they would not be immortal, and the soul, being life, if it changed in the mixture, would be altered, and would no longer be life. And what would it contribute to the body if it did not provide it with life? Therefore the soul does not alter in the union. But now that has been shown—that the intelligibles are unalterable with respect to their essence—it necessarily follows that the things being united are not destroyed along with what they are united with. Moreover, the soul is both united, and united unconfusedly,

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σῶμα ἢ πάλιν ἡ ψυχή, ἀσώματος οὖσα καὶ οὐσιώδης καθ᾽ ἑαυτήν, πῶς ἑνοῦται σώματι καὶ μέρος γίνεται τοῦ ζῴου, σῴζουσα τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον." I am grateful to Charles Brittain for drawing my attention to this passage, and kindly sharing both his thoughts on it and his draft translation, which I adapt in what follows. Defects in interpretation, of course, remain mine alone. Discussion of the passage can be found in Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 399–407. Wolfson's interpretation—of which more below—renders the passage (wrongly, in my view) irrelevant for an understanding of John of Damascus. Interpretations similar to Wolfson's—in effect emphasizing an Aristotelian reading over the more Stoic one that I am proposing—can be found too in Aloys Grillmeier and Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. Pauline Allen and John Cawte (London, 1995), 202–10. For doubts about the ascription of the passage to Porphyry's *Quaestiones mixtae*, see Mark Edwards, "Ammonius, Teacher of Origen," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 169–81 at 177.

[56] For the Greek text of the whole passage, in Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3, see n. 58 below. I give the Porphyry references at the relevant points; the passage marked with asterisks is found only in Nemesius. On the relation between Porphyry and Ammonius Saccas in this passage, and more generally on the distinction between this Ammonius and the peripatetic philosopher (and teacher of Origen) of the same name, see Edwards, "Ammonius," 176–79.

with the body. That they are united is shown by their sympathy, for the whole animal sympathizes with itself as one being. . . . For though it is incorporeal, it has penetrated [the body] entirely, like things destroyed [in their union do], remaining undestroyed and unconfused,[57] *and maintaining its own unity with itself, and, in the things in which it comes to be, turning them towards its life rather than being turned by them*. For just as the sun changes the air into light by its presence, making it light-like, and the light is unified with the air in such a way that it is simultaneously unconfused with it and penetrates all through it, in the same way the soul also united with the body remains absolutely unconfused.[58]

A Porphyrian parallel to the passage marked with asterisks is found a little later in Nemesius:

One must not fail to recognize, then, that it is possible for a substance to be taken up in order to complete another substance, and to be a part of that substance while remaining in accordance with its own nature and yet still completing the other substance, and coming to be one along with the other, and yet retaining its own unity in accordance with itself and its superiority (not by being turned, but by turning the other substances in which it comes to be toward its own activity by its presence).[59]

[57] Porphyry, fragm. 259 F (ed. Smith, 283a.80–285a.129, 286.148–51).

[58] Porphyry, fragm. 261 F (ed. Smith, 288a.1–9). The whole passage is in Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3 (ed. Morani, 39.16–40.12 and 40.19–41.2): "'Αμμώνιος δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος Πλωτίνου τὸ ζητούμενον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπελύετο· ἔλεγε τὰ νοητὰ τοιαύτην ἔχειν φύσιν, ὡς καὶ ἐνοῦσθαι τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὰ δέξασθαι, καθάπερ τὰ συνεφθαρμένα, καὶ ἐνούμενα μένειν ἀσύγχυτα καὶ ἀδιάφθορα ὡς τὰ παρακείμενα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ σωμάτων ἡ ἕνωσις ἀλλοίωσιν τῶν συνιόντων πάντως ἐργάζεται, ἐπειδήπερ εἰς ἄλλα σώματα μεταβάλλεται ὡς τὰ στοιχεῖα εἰς τὰ συγκρίματα καὶ αἱ τροφαὶ εἰς αἷμα, τὸ δὲ αἷμα εἰς σάρκα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μόρια τοῦ σώματος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νοητῶν ἕνωσις μὲν γίνεται, ἀλλοίωσις δὲ οὐ παρακολουθεῖ. οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε νοητὰ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ἀλλοιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἐξίσταται ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεται, μεταβολὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἀθάνατα. καὶ ἡ ψυχή, ζωὴ οὖσα, εἰ ἐν τῇ κράσει μετεβάλλετο, ἠλλοιώθη ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἂν ἔτι ζωή. τί δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ σώματι, εἰ μὴ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὴν ζωήν; οὐκ ἄρα ἀλλοιοῦται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει. δεδειγμένου τοίνυν τούτου, ὅτι τὰ νοητὰ ἀναλλοίωτα κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ἀναγκαίως παρακολουθεῖ τὸ καὶ ἐνούμενα αὐτὰ μὴ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι οἷς ἥνωται. καὶ ἥνωται τοίνυν καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἥνωται τῷ σώματι ἡ ψυχή. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἥνωται, ἡ συμπάθεια δείκνυσι· συμπαθεῖ γὰρ ὅλον ἑαυτῷ τὸ ζῷον ὡς ἐν ὄν. . . . ἀσώματος γὰρ οὖσα δι᾽ ὅλου κεχώρηκεν ὡς τὰ συνεφθαρμένα, μένουσα ἀδιάφθορος καὶ ἀσύγχυτος καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἐν διασῴζουσα καί, ἐν οἷς ἂν γένηται, τρέπουσα ἐκεῖνα εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ζωὴν καὶ μὴ τρεπουμένη ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων. ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τὸν ἀέρα εἰς φῶς μεταβάλλει ποιῶν αὐτὸν φωτοειδῆ, καὶ ἐνοῦται τῷ ἀέρι τὸ φῶς ἀσυγχύτως ἅμα καὶ αὐτῷ κεχυμένον, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐνουμένη τῷ σώματι μένει πάντως ἀσύγχυτος."

[59] Porphyry, fragm. 260 F (ed. Smith, 287a.11–288a.27) = Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3 (ed. Morani, 43.3–8): "οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον οὖν ἐνδέχεσθαί τινα οὐσίαν παραληφθῆναι εἰς συμ-

Before attempting an exegesis of all this, I would like to discount one interpretation which is clearly false. According to Wolfson, Nemesius intends us to understand the union between body and soul as a case of Aristotelian predominance:

> In all this, we take it, Nemesius, after explaining that the union of soul and body could not be after the analogy of the Aristotelian "mixture" or the Stoic "confusion" or both the Aristotelian and the Stoic "juxtaposition" or the Stoic "mixture," tries to show that it is after the analogy of "predominance."[60]

In favor of this reading are two instances of the Aristotelian term *kratein* ("to [pre]dominate"): "The soul is not dominated by the body, but it dominates the body."[61] But a number of features tell against this reading too. Most notably, in the long passage quoted above Nemesius expressly states (quoting Porphyry) that the union is indeed a *krasis*. Furthermore, in Aristotle's predominance the weaker component is destroyed, whereas Nemesius expressly denies this: the whole issue, for Nemesius (again following Porphyry) is how body and soul can be united *without* the body being destroyed.

So we should reject Wolfson's Aristotelian interpretation of the passage in favor of one that begins from the presupposition that the basic background is Stoic, and indeed that it is Stoic as seen through Neoplatonic spectacles. Clearly, the Neoplatonist understanding of the Stoic theory, reported in Nemesius, differs in several obvious ways from the Stoic theory. The Stoics claim that a *krasis* can obtain only between material objects (recall that the Stoics hold that everything—except space, time, and the *lekton,* but including the soul—is material). Porphyry explicitly notes that there are no blocks on cases of interpenetration obtaining between an immaterial object and a material one, since

> intelligibles are not hindered by bodies but pass through and . . . penetrate them; nor can they be contained by a bodily place.[62]

πλήρωσιν ἑτέρας οὐσίας καὶ εἶναι μέρος οὐσίας μένουσαν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν μετὰ τοῦ συμπληροῦν ἄλλην οὐσίαν, ἔν τε σὺν ἄλλῳ γενουμένην καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐν διασῴζουσαν, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον, αὐτὴν μὲν μὴ τρεπομένην, τρέπουσαν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, ἐν οἷς ἂν γίγνηται, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐνέργειαν τῇ παρουσίᾳ."

[60] Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers,* 405.

[61] Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3 (ed. Morani, 42.13): ". . . καὶ κρατεῖν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ κρατεῖσθαι."

[62] Porphyry, fr. 261 F (ed. Smith, 289a.32–290.38) = Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3 (ed. Morani, 41.10–12): "μὴ κωλυόμενα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ νοητά, ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς σώματος χωροῦντα καὶ διαφοιτῶντα καὶ διεξιόντα, οὐχ οἷά τέ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τόπου σωματικοῦ κατέχεσθαι."

And of course, as a Neoplatonist, Porphyry does not accept in any case the Stoic claim that two *bodies* could interpenetrate (hence the union of two bodies "always effects a change of the constituents"); indeed, Porphyry explicitly understands the interpenetration of two bodies as amounting to their destruction.[63]

These passages raise several more challenging interpretative problems, however. The most important for my purposes is the unequivocal claim that neither component is changed in the mixture ("it necessarily follows that the other things being united are not destroyed along with what they are united with"). This confirms my claim that the official theory of *krasis* does not involve an exchange of attributes between the natures—or at any rate, that no such exchange can amount to the obliteration of any of the attributes of either nature, and no such exchange can be such as to mean that the items that interpenetrate are the changed natures (it is fire and iron as such that interpenetrate, not fired-iron and fire). But the passage also affirms that the weaker nature in the union is affected in some way by the union: the predominant nature *penetrates* the weaker one. Porphyry considers two cases: the soul-body union, and the light-air union. The two cases are closely parallel. The soul—which is itself life—makes the body alive, and light makes the air light-like. And both of these are presumably supposed to be ways of talking about a property *in abstracto* and *in concreto* respectively. This might make us inclined to the view that there is some sort of exchange of properties from the active component to the passive one. But I think we need to understand this in a very particular way, because Porphyry explicitly claims that the union of body and soul is revealed by the fact that the whole animal exists as one thing: which I take it will lead us to suspect that it is not properly the body that is alive but the whole animal—the composite of body and soul. Equally, in so far as the body gains anything from the soul, it is not properly an attribute of the soul. For "the soul [is] life," and as such makes the body alive. The body does not itself become life.

The background here is in some sense Aristotelian as much as anything else: the soul is the form—life—in virtue of which the body has a certain property—that of being alive. In Aristotelian philosophy, this sort of exchange of attributes is supposed to explain (among other things) the unity of a composite of matter and form. So my proposal is that we should understand

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[63] For discussions of this passage that focus on these Neoplatonic elements (rather than the Stoic elements that I will emphasize in a moment), see too Brian E. Daley, " 'A Richer Union': Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ," in *Studia Patristica* 24, ed. Elizabeth Livingstone (Leuven, 1993), 254–57; and Lang, "Studies in the Christology of John Philoponus," 229–32.

this exchange of attributes from the stronger to the weaker component to mean that the *krasis* of body and soul—their union—is causally explained by the soul's enlivening the body. But once the body is enlivened, we should properly claim that the whole animal is alive in virtue of the soul, and bodily in virtue of the body.

Putting it another way, I propose that we understand Porphyry's claim that the soul enlivens the body, and light enlightens the air, to be a way of talking about the union of these two components respectively *in fieri; in facto esse,* the whole animal is alive in virtue of the soul, and bodily in virtue of the body, just as a composite of light and air is light in virtue of the light, and airy in virtue of the air. Thus, Porphyry talks about the enlightenment of the air as a process—"the sun changes the air into light." This reading allows us to make sense of Porphyry's claim that the components in a *krasis* cannot be changed in their mixture—a claim that is otherwise inconsistent with his view that the soul has a causal effect on the body just as the light has a causal effect on the air. The solution is to see the denial of change as relating specifically to the union *in facto esse;* causally (that is, the union *in fieri*), we need to posit an exchange of attributes from the predominant nature to the weaker one; but this exchange is disregarded for purposes of talking about the union *in facto esse.* This way of reading Porphyry makes him very close to the reading I shall propose of John of Damascus; though, as we shall see, John adds a further element to the talk of the union *in fieri* that perhaps clarifies something left ambiguous in Porphyry: namely, that the union *in fieri* can properly be talked about in terms of the (Neoplatonic) category of *participation.*[64]

Overall, then, there are roughly five sorts of model for physical combination:

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[64] My claim, then, is that *krasis* does not in itself involve any exchange of attributes between the united components, and that the seemingly inconsistent claims in Prophyry can be reconciled if we distinguish the *krasis* from the causal processes that bring it about. The only counterevidence to this reading of the Stoics can be found in the account given by Arius Didymus, who claims in the passage cited that a paradigm case of *mixis* is between fire and *fired* iron. But I take it that this is an oversight. After all, it is hard to see how fire and fired iron could interpenetrate each other, since fired iron presumably includes iron as a part, and even supposing that bodies can interpenetrate in the required way, it does not look plausible to claim that something could interpenetrate itself in this way. Interpreting Nemesius along the lines suggested has a Christological consequence. According to Nemesius, adopting a standard analysis here, the union of natures in Christ should be understood along the analogy of body and soul; see Nemesius, *Nat. hom.* 3 (ed. Morani, 42.9–22). Accordingly, Wolfson understands Nemesius to be defending a predominance Christology along the lines suggested by the Cappadocians; see Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers,* 407. My proposed reading of Nemesius places him more in line with later writers, and indeed makes the possibility of direct Christological influence from Nemesius on these writers correspondingly stronger.

(1)   *Sunthesis* or *parathesis* (juxtaposition)
(2)   *Mixis* ([Aristotelian] mixture: substances destroyed, but powers remain)
(3)   *Sunkhusis* ([Stoic] fusion: both the substances and their qualities destroyed)
(4)   *Krasis* or *mixis* ([Stoic] mixture: both the substances and their qualities remain, and the two interpenetrate each other)
(5)   (Aristotelian) predominance (one component destroyed).

In *Dialectica,* John gives a very full account of the terminology of union (*henōsis*), distinguishing a total of eight kinds of union:[65]

(i)   *Phurmos* (a heap [*mixis* !] of grain)
(ii)   *Kollēsis* (a union of, e.g., bronze and lead—see iv below?)[66]
(iii) *Harmonia* (a heap of sticks and stones)
(iv)   *Sunkhusis* (fusion of liquids; fusion of metals)
(v)   *Anakrasis* (a mixture of two different but separable sorts of liquid)
(vi)   *Sunaloiphē* (separable solids—e.g., iron and fire)
(vii) *Sunthesis* = *sunkrasis* = *sumphuia* = *krasis* = *henōsis kath hupostasin* (interpenetration [*perichōrēsis*] of parts [*merōn*] or of things [*pragmatōn*]—e.g., body and soul; though note that [as we shall see in a moment] *sunthesis* also has a wider meaning than this)
(viii) *Parathesis* = *harmonia* (iii above).

In a connected passage, John adds more terms, all equivalent to *krasis:*

(ix)   *Antembasis* of qualities
(x)   *Sundromē*
(xi)   *Antembolē* of properties
(xii) *Suzeuksis.*[67]

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[65] *Dial.* 65 (1:135.98–136.113; 1:136.118). A comparable but rather different list occurs in Maximus, *Opuscula theologica et polemica* [*Opusc.*] (*PG* 91:213A–16A), though Maximus does not give here any Christological application to the different sorts of union, and equally distinguishes union *kata krasin* from hypostatic union.

[66] The union here is presumably supposed to be an example of Aristotle's predominance— see *De generatione et corruptione* 1.10 (328b6–14) where Aristotle gives the union of tin and bronze as an example of such. In a union of tin and bronze, according to Aristotle, all that remains of the tin is its color. But a union of lead and bronze is very different from this, and it is not clear whether John's example here is just an oversight, or whether he has something different in mind from Aristotle's predominance.

[67] *Dial.* 65 (1:136.114–16), quoted at **[11]** below.

John denies the following of a hypostatic union, all of which I take it are equivalent to some sort of fusion that would involve a change in the nature:

(xiii) *Tropē*[68]
(xiv) *Sunkrasis*[69]
(xv) *Alloiōsis.*[70]

Further, following the Council of Chalcedon, John holds that it is a feature of a hypostatic union or *krasis* that the natures are united

(xvi) *Atreptōs* (changelessly)
(xvii) *Adiairetōs* (indivisibly)
(xviii) *Adiaspastōs* (inseparably).[71]

To these, we can add too the Christologically acceptable term

(xix) *Krama* (= *krasis*)[72]

and the following verbs describing various ways in which united natures might be related to each other:

(xx) *Sunkirnaō* (in the passive—natures in a *henōsis* are "mingled")
(xxi) *Sunkheō* (in the passive—natures in a *henōsis* are "blended")[73]
(xxii) *Mignumi* (natures in a *henōsis* "mix")[74]
(xxiii) *Antikirnamai* (natures in a *krasis* "blend" [or "interchange"?] their qualities into each other).[75]

John's terminology is profligate, and carelessly used. Some clear trends do emerge, however, and now I want to focus on two distinct sorts of union that John talks about carefully. The basic terms for the two sorts of union are *sunkhusis* and *krasis*. John never conflates these two terms (though he does at one point seem to allow that the natures in a *krasis* are *sunkheētai*).[76] He usu-ally describes both terms by means of the more basic term *sunthesis*, where

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[68] *Jacob.* 81 (4:138.19).
[69] *Jacob.* 44 (4:123.7).
[70] *Expos.* 61 (2:155.1[61]).
[71] *Expos.* 47 (2:114.60–61); for Chalcedon, see *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2.1.2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), 129.31.
[72] *Jacob.* 44 (4:123.3[44]).
[73] Ibid. (4:123.1–2[44] = [xvii] and [xviii]).
[74] Ibid. (4:123.4[44]); *Transfig.* 2 (5:438.41).
[75] *Dial.* 65 (1:136.116), quoted below at [11].
[76] See the passage referred to at xxi in the list above.

sunthesis has a broader meaning than that given in *Dialectica* and cited above. The basic sense of *sunthesis* is "composition," and the difference between a *krasis* and a *sunkhusis* basically lies in what is held to be composed. A *krasis* is a composed hypostasis, and a *sunkhusis* is a composed nature. We should not understand this to mean that a composed hypostasis is composed out of (*ek*) two hypostases, or a composed nature composed out of (*ek*) two natures. Indeed, John is explicit that both such compositions are impossible.[77] Rather, as I shall discuss in detail in a moment, a composed hypostasis is a hypostasis that has two natures, and a composed nature is one nature with the qualities of two other natures.

In two passages, John discusses in considerable detail just what it is for a nature to be composed, and gives examples of the sort of thing he has in mind:

[8] One composite nature arises from diverse natures when, on the union of the natures, another thing results on account of the united natures. And the thing that is made neither is properly the one [nature], nor is said to be the other, but [is] another [nature]. For example, a body is constituted from the four elements—say, fire, air, water, and earth—when the four are unified and mix together. But the body that is made is neither fire (nor is said to be), nor air, nor water, nor earth, but it is another thing from these.[78]

[9] It is necessary to understand that, when a composite nature arises, the parts must be simultaneous, and another thing results from them which does not retain the things it is composed of, but alters and changes them, just as when a body arises from the four elements, one thing is made from other things, and is neither (nor is said to be) perfect fire nor any of the other [elements]; and as a mule from a horse and a donkey is neither (nor is said to be) a horse nor a donkey, but another thing from these, not retaining unconfused and unaltered either of the things of which it is composed.[79]

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[77] *Dial.* 67 (1:139.30–140.34).

[78] *Aceph.* 1 (4:409.1–7): "Μία φύσις σύνθετος ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων γίνεται, ὅταν ἐνουμένων φύσεων ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς ἐνωθείσας φύσεις ἀποτελεσθῇ. Καὶ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον οὔτε τοῦτο κυρίως ἔστιν οὔτε λέγεται, οὔτε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἕτερον. Οἷον ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων πυρὸς λέγω καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς, συνίσταται σῶμα ἐνουμένων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ συγκιρναμένων, καὶ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον σῶμα οὔτε πῦρ ἔστιν οὔτε λέγεται οὔτε ἀὴρ οὔτε ὕδωρ οὔτε γῆ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων ἕτερόν τι παρὰ ταῦτα."

[79] *Dial.* 67 (1:140.39–45): "Χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι, ἡνίκα σύνθετος γένηται φύσις, δεῖ ὁμόχρονα τὰ μέρη εἶναι καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτερον ἀποτελεῖται μὴ φυλάττον ἀλλὰ τρέπον καὶ ἀλλοιοῦν τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη, ὡς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀποτελουμένου τοῦ σώματος ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλων γέγονε καὶ οὔτε πῦρ τέλειον οὔτε τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἢ λέγεται, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἵππου καὶ ὄνου ἡμίονος· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππος οὔτε ὄνος ἐστὶν ἢ λέγεται ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτερον, μηδ' ὁπότερον τῶν, ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη, φυλάττον ἀσύγχυτόν τε καὶ ἄτρεπτον."

We learn several things from these passages. A composed nature—a *sunkhusis*—is a *tertium quid,* and it is caused by the simultaneous causal concurrence of several components. Equally, this sort of union effects a *change* in the components (perhaps that the components as such no longer exist). (John might also be interested in defending what he sometimes denies, namely that there is a sense in which a composite nature is composed of [*ek*] other natures.) These are unexceptionable claims. But a further claim makes it clear that John's account of a composed nature—despite the Stoic *sunkhusis* terminology—aligns it with Aristotle's *mixis,* at least as this is usually understood. John explicitly claims that the qualities of the fused natures are preserved:

[10] Every composed hypostasis, brought about from diverse natures, necessarily has the natural properties of the two natures, even if a confusion is seen in the union. For fire and water are wholly contraries—for fire is hot and dry, and water cold and wet. When a body is brought about from the four elements, it has the four qualities: heat and coldness, moisture and dryness. If therefore wherever confusion is seen, the natural properties of the composed [natures] are necessarily seen, how much more [are they seen] in union without confusion.[80]

Here John aims to distinguish a composed hypostasis from mere confusion (*sunkhusis*), and he does this by distinguishing a composed hypostasis with two unconfused natures from one with a confused (composite) nature. (For "composite" nature, see the penultimate clause of [10], where John claims that the hypostasis of a confused nature has the properties "of the composed [natures].")

So a *sunkhusis,* for John, requires that the qualities, though not the natures themselves, remain in the *tertium quid* that the natures compose. In a *krasis,* both the natures and their qualities are preserved, just as in the standard Stoic scheme:

[11] Union according to composition is the perichoresis of the parts into one another without corruption, as obtains in the case of body and soul. Some called this union mixture or natural union. . . . [Union] according to hypostasis is therefore a thing supporting diverse natures; and again [union] according to

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[80] *Volunt.* 31 (4:216.1–8[31]): "Πᾶσα ὑπόστασις σύνθετος ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων συντεθειμένη τὰ φυσικὰ ἰδιώματα τῶν δύο φύσεων ἔχει κατ᾿ ἀνάγκην, κἂν σύγχυσις θεωροῖτο ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει. Τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐναντία εἰσὶ παντελῶς — τὸ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρόν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν —, ἀλλ᾿ ἡνίκα συντεθῇ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, τὰς τέσσαρας ἔχει ποιότητας, θερμότητα καὶ ψυχρότητα, ὑγρότητα καὶ ξηρότητα. Εἰ οὖν, ἔνθα σύγχυσις θεωρεῖται, ἀνάγκη θεωρεῖσθαι τὰ φυσικὰ ἰδιώματα τῶν συντεθέντων, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ἑνώσεως."

hypostasis is [a thing] from two things but in one person. And again union according to hypostasis is a nature coming to another hypostasis.

Mixture is the collection of bodies, the interpenetration of qualities. And again mixture is the union of essences different from each other, and the incursion of the properties around these [essences]. Mixture is the conjunction of bodies blending the qualities in them with each other.[81]

(Note that in [11] John uses *sunthesis* just to refer to *krasis*, and not to *sunkhusis*.) [11] makes it clear that the natures remain in a *krasis*, and that their qualities somehow combine so that the hypostasis that possesses the unconfused natures has the qualities of all of them. Much the same point is made in [10], where John claims that what *sunkhusis* and merely hypostatic composition (*krasis*) have in common is that in both cases the hypostasis possesses the qualities of the united natures, whether the natures themselves are or are not preserved (as in merely hypostatic composition and in *sunkhusis*, respectively). [11] also makes it clear that the distinctive feature of a *krasis* is the interpenetration of the two natures. (As we saw in the previous section, John is convinced that, while these natures are abstractions, they are also individuals.) John develops this point about interpenetration fully in the context of his discussion of the Incarnation, so I shall delay consideration of it until the next section of my paper.

Thus far, the background to John's theory of *krasis*—often expressed in Ps.-Cyril's distinctive terminology of a composed hypostasis—is clearly Stoic in its basic thrust, albeit adapted to allow for the mutual interpenetration of abstract objects. But John does not believe that the description of *krasis* given thus far is sufficient, and he adds a further feature from a very different tradition. The examples of *krasis* that John discusses in this context all involve the *krasis* being brought about by one of the two natures, and the further feature John talks about has to do with the way in which one of the mixed natures causes the union. It is not clear whether he intends the account to have wider application than just those cases of *krasis* in which the *krasis* is brought about by one of the natures, so I will consider—as John does—only these sorts of cases. John's basic belief here is that if the *krasis* is brought about by one of

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[81] *Dial.* 65 (1:135.104–136.107, 136.110–17): "Ἡ δὲ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἔνωσίς ἐστιν ἡ εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν χωρὶς ἀφανισμοῦ περιχώρησις ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔχει καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἥντινα ἔνωσίν τινες σύγκρασιν ἐκάλεσαν ἢ συμφυΐαν. . . . Καθ' ὑπόστασιν μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων ὑφεστὸς πρᾶγμα. Καὶ πάλιν καθ' ὑπόστασίν ἐστι τὸ ἐκ δύο μὲν πραγμάτων, ἐν ἑνὶ δὲ προσώπῳ. Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσίς ἐστιν ἡ ἑτέρᾳ ὑποστάσει προστρέχουσα φύσις. Κρᾶσις δέ ἐστι σωμάτων παράθεσις, ποιοτήτων ἀντέμβασις. Καὶ πάλιν κρᾶσίς ἐστιν οὐσιῶν ἀλλήλαις ἑτεροίων συνδρομὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς ποιοτήτων ἀντεμβολή. Κρᾶσίς ἐστι σύζευξις σωμάτων ἀντικιρνώντων ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιότητας."

the mixed natures then this nature makes the other nature participate in its qualities. This is the most important element in what I am calling the union *in fieri*. I shall offer some sort of assessment of this theory in a moment. But first, we need to look at the central texts. As we shall see, the similarities with Porphyry's account of the *krasis* of body and soul are striking.

Again, the major evidence for this aspect of John's theory comes from explicitly Christological material, where John is interested in giving an account of the deification of the assumed nature. So some of the most compelling textual evidence will be found in section 4 of this essay. Here I shall generally mention Christological texts that make use of non-theological analogues. But the most important text of all—and one whose interpretation needs careful treatment—is wholly Christological:

[12] The two natures were united in hypostasis and interpenetrate into each other without confusion or alteration. The perichoresis did not come from the flesh but from the divinity, for it is impossible for the flesh to interpenetrate the divinity, but the divine nature, once it interpenetrated through the flesh, gave to the flesh as well the ineffable perichoresis into it; and this is what we call union.[82]

Before I attempt an interpretation of [12], it will be helpful to consider a further passage:

[13] For the weaker gains from the predominant without the latter being harmed by the weaker. For just as iron is ignited by fire without the fire being made into iron, and just as the flesh is ensouled without the soul being enfleshed, so the divine nature deifies the flesh without itself being enfleshed.[83]

The unions of soul and body, and iron and fire, are cases of *krasis,* and they are specifically cases of *krasis* where one of the components (soul, and fire, respectively) causes the union. The exchange of properties is in effect a way of talking about the cause of the union. [13] makes it clear that the relevant relations are *one-way:* the predominant or active nature makes the passive nature share in its qualities. And this sharing, as we shall see below, is described in terms of participation. This helps us see how John understands [12].

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[82] *Expos.* 91 (2:214.57–63): "... ὡς τῶν δύο φύσεων καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωθεισῶν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας περιχώρησιν ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐχουσῶν. Ἡ δὲ περιχώρησις οὐκ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς θεότητος γέγονεν· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὴν σάρκα περιχωρῆσαι διὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' ἡ θεία φύσις ἅπαξ περιχωροῦσα διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔδωκε καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄρρητον περιχώρησιν, ἣν δὴ ἕνωσιν λέγομεν."

[83] *Jacob.* 52 (4:127.39–43): "... ὠφελεῖται γὰρ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος. Οὐ παραβλάπτεται τὸ κρεῖττον ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος· ὡς γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος μὲν πυροῦται, τὸ δὲ πῦρ οὐ σιδηροῦται, καὶ ὡς ἡ σὰρξ μὲν ψυχοῦται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ οὐ σαρκοῦται, οὕτως ἡ θεία φύσις θεοῖ μὲν τὴν σάρκα, αὐτὴ δὲ οὐ σαρκοῦται."

For John, [12] is a way of talking merely about the *cause* of the union: the divine nature causes the union, and it does this by making the human nature participate in divine qualities. The idea is that the divine nature's causing the human nature to participate in divine qualities causes the assumed human nature to be part of a Stoic-type *krasis,* where the other part of the *krasis* is the divine nature. And this *krasis* is what the hypostatic union is. John's intuition is that a *krasis* of iron and fire is causally explained by the iron's becoming ignited, and a *krasis* of body and soul is caused by the body's becoming ensouled. Ignition and ensoulment are, in effect, these unions *in fieri;* the *krasis* is the union *in facto esse.* As I have been interpreting Porphyry, this account is in very close conformity with Porphyry's account of the union of body and soul—an account doubtless mediated through Nemesius.[84] (I will return to all of this in more detail in section 4 below, considering there too Wolfson's interpretation of [12], which differs markedly from mine.)

The one-way nature of the participation in John is confirmed by several other passages, some of which I quote in section 4 below. But one of the more important likens the deifying action of the divine nature to the causal functions of the sun. The divine nature makes the human nature participate in divine qualities in much the same way as the sun makes us participate in its light:

> [14] [The divine nature] imparts a share of its proper glories to the flesh, while remaining impassible and without participating in the passions of the flesh. For if the sun imparts to us its proper energies, and yet does not participate in ours, how much more [is this true] of the creator and Lord of the sun.[85]

Clearly, again, there are powerful echoes of Porphyry. But the background here is Neoplatonic in another way too—namely, John's use of the notion of participation. Talk of participation is a way of talking about *causal* relations. For the subsolar world to participate in the light of the sun is for the sun to cause the light of the subsolar world. This second, caused, light is different

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[84] Note too John's use of the notion of predominance in this context: clearly not Aristotelian, but rather a way of talking about one of the natures causing the union. Wolfson interestingly suggests that John's use of the notion of predominance should be related to his doctrine of the enhypostasia, the fact that the human nature exists in the hypostasis of the Word (see *Philosophy of the Church Fathers,* 416–17; for a detailed discussion of the notion of enhypostasia in John, see Lang, "Anhypostatos-Enhypostatos"). This sense of "predominance" seems to be distant from Aristotle's account. I shall argue below that there is an asymmetry in John's account of the hypostatic union that is talked about by John in terms of the contrasting words "deification" and "Incarnation."

[85] *Expos.* 51 (2:126.60–63): "Καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων αὐχημάτων τῇ σαρκὶ μεταδίδωσι μένουσα αὐτὴ ἀπαθὴς καὶ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν ἀμέτοχος· εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος ἡμῖν τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν μεταδιδοὺς μένει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμέτοχος, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου ποιητής τε καὶ κύριος."

from the light of the sun: the sun, as the source of light is invisible (we might better say "supervisible," beyond our powers to see), whereas the light that belongs to the subsolar world is such that it renders the subsolar world visible:

[15] But just as the sun is one and the same, but has two essences, one of the light which is produced first, and another of the body which comes later in creation, and [just as] through the whole body the light is undividedly united while the body remains in itself, the light is spread out to the extremes of the whole world. . . . For just as the sun (which is the source of light, and cannot be seen clearly) is one thing, and the light which comes from it to the earth is another . . . so his [viz. the transfigured Christ's] face shines clearly like the sun, and so the light illuminates his clothing which shines with the participation of divine light.[86]

So one nature participates in the attributes of another by having, in line with standard Neoplatonic understandings of participation, an attribute that derives from—and imitates—the attributes of the higher nature.[87] The attributes are caused by the higher nature, and in the cases at hand have a causal role in the case of a *krasis* of the two natures: the stronger nature in the *krasis* causes the *krasis* by making the weaker participate in its qualities. This participation is construed along Neoplatonic lines: a way of talking about the more perfect causing the less perfect to come to share in the qualities of the more perfect. The less perfect, weaker nature cannot have any causal effect on the more perfect and powerful nature. So the more perfect nature cannot be made to participate in the qualities of the weaker. (Note that this account of participation requires the individuality of the natures, as outlined in section 1. If the natures were just universals, it would be difficult to see what sense could be made of their being the *subjects* of further properties.)

It is perhaps helpful to take stock here. My basic claim is that John interprets the Stoics' *krasis* along lines suggested—though somewhat obscurely—by Porphyry. As I interpret both Porphyry and John—though the point is

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[86] *Transfig.* 13 (5:451.16–20, 452.36–38, 40–42): "ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος εἷς ἐστιν, ἔχει δὲ οὐσίας δύο, τοῦ τε φωτός, ὃ γεγένηται πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ τῇ κτίσει ἐφυστερίζοντος σώματος, δι' ὅλου δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὸ φῶς ἀδιαιρέτως ἥνωται καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μένοντος τὸ φῶς πᾶσι τῆς γῆς ἐφαπλοῦται τοῖς πέρασιν. . . . Ὥσπερ ἕτερον μὲν ὁ ἥλιος — πηγὴ γάρ ἐστι φωτός, καθορᾶσθαι τρανῶς μὴ δυνάμενος —, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς γῆν ἀφικνούμενον . . . οὕτω τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον λάμπει τρανότερον ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ὡς δὲ φῶς λευκαίνεται τὰ ἱμάτια μεταδόσει τοῦ θείου φωτὸς ἀγλαϊζόμενα."

[87] For the Neoplatonic belief that to participation in something is to be made like that thing, see, e.g., Lloyd, *Anatomy of Neoplatonism,* 103; for the thing participated in as the cause of the participation, see ibid., chap. 3. Passages such as [15] should make us very wary of attempts to find a doctrine of uncreated grace in John. The analogy in [15] entails that there is a real distinction between the relevant divine attribute and the participated attribute that we possess. I will return to this in section 4 below.

made more explicitly in John—the notion of *krasis* as such amounts to a combination of natures and qualities, such that a new composite whole has both natures and their qualities. This *krasis* is causally explained by what John describes as the participation of one of the natures in the other nature, and what both John and Porphyry describe in terms of the interpenetration of one nature in the other nature (distinct from their *mutual* interpenetration, which is identified by John as *krasis*).[88] The participation of one nature in the qualities of the other is *extra-theoretical* to the notion of *krasis*, required merely to explain the causal genesis of the *krasis*, not as part of the description of a state of *krasis* as such. What are mixed in the case of, for example, a *krasis* of soul and body, are not soul and ensouled body, but just soul and body.

3. PERICHORESIS AND CHRISTOLOGICAL PREDICATION

John's fundamental understanding of the Incarnation is as a *krasis* of two natures (divine and human)—their perichoresis or mutual interpenetration. As with all such unions, the two interpenetrating natures are united in one hypostasis such that the natures and their qualities are preserved. John speaks of the natures being mixed (*mignutai*),[89] of the Word interpenetrating (*ekrathē*) the human nature,[90] and of a mixture (*krasis*) of the two natures.[91] These mixed natures are parts of a composite hypostasis.[92] (I will return to John's unequivocal assertion of the identity of the hypostasis before and after the Incarnation below.)

John distinguishes his position from the opposing monophysite position. According to the monophysites, there is just one nature in Christ, on the grounds that (as John sees it) the monophysites do not know how to make a distinction between nature and hypostasis, and thus suppose that rejecting Nestorianism entails affirming just one nature in Christ.[93] As John understands the monophysite claim, it amounts to a theory of the *sunkhusis* or confusion of the two natures.[94] And the theory that the two natures in Christ could

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[88] I give in section 4 further evidence for John's identification of participation with one-way interpenetration: see in particular passage [22].

[89] *Transfig.* 2 (5:438.40–41), 4 (5:441.18–21).

[90] *Imag.* 1.21 (3:109.56–61).

[91] *Expos.* 91 (2:214.48).

[92] See, e.g., *Expos.* 48 (2:116.17) for the composite hypostasis; and see, e.g., *Jacob.* 71 (4:113.1–8[71]) and *Expos.* 48 (2:117.28) for the claim that the natures are parts. Both claims occur frequently throughout John's Christological writing.

[93] *Expos.* 47 (2:112.33–37).

[94] *Imag.* 1.21 (3:109.56–61). I noted at the beginning of section 2 some reasons for feeling hesitant about this description of the moderate monophysitism of John's opponent Severus.

be confused was rejected at Chalcedon.[95] As we saw in the previous section, John's understanding of *sunkhusis* entails that the natures, but *not* their qualities, are destroyed by the union. This raises an immediate puzzle. If the hypostasis of a composite nature has all the qualities that would be had by a hypostasis that possessed the two natures without confusion, how can we distinguish the cases of *krasis* and *sunkhusis*? Put more bluntly, John often argues against the monophysite claim by pointing out that Christ possesses divine and human qualities.[96] But if Christ would do this even on the monophysite claim (as understood by John), how can John successfully argue against monophysitism?

John argues that the world is divided up by God into *species*—kinds, as we would say.[97] And there simply is no kind that corresponds to a God-man: "In our Lord Jesus Christ we can take no common species."[98] John's reason for this is that it is not possible for there to be more than one God-man; and John believes—not implausibly—that anything which is a natural kind must admit of more than one instance.[99] In fact, a stronger argument is available too to John here, though it is not a reason that he unequivocally appeals to. As we saw when discussing [3], John probably believes—very plausibly—that the possession of all the properties necessary for belonging to a kind is sufficient for belonging to that kind. But this is inconsistent with monophysitism, since monophysitism entails that something can possess all the features necessary for being God, and all the features necessary for being man, and yet be neither God nor man (but instead a *tertium quid*).[100]

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[95] *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2.1.2:129.31.

[96] *Jacob.* 81 (4:138.18–139.28); *Aceph.* 1 (4:409.9–18).

[97] *Volunt.* 2 (4:174.1–2).

[98] *Expos.* 47 (2:113.50). At *Expos.* 47 (2:111.17–19) John *rejects* the body-soul analogy for just this reason, viz. on the grounds that it suggests the formation of a *tertium quid,* and thus monophysitism. But usually John is happy to use such analogies on the grounds that the hypostatic union is a genuine instance of *krasis.* Thus, as we have seen, he is happy with the iron-fire analogy, and elsewhere he is explicit that the union of body and soul is an instance of interpenetration: see *Jacob.* 52 (4:127.42); see too, e.g., [11] above. In passage [13] John uses the body-soul model as a direct analogy for the hypostatic union. It is important to keep this in mind, because part of my argument is that John understands the hypostatic union along the lines suggested by Porphyry's analysis of the soul-body union.

[99] *Expos.* 47 (2:113.51–53).

[100] John implicitly appeals to this principle at *Aceph.* 1 (4:409.12), where he argues that if monophysitism were true, Christ could not be perfect God and perfect man, just as a mule is neither horse nor donkey. The implicit argument here is presumably that the block on Christ's being God and man—supposing monophysitism to be true—is that the possession of all properties necessary for being God and necessary for being man entails having divine and human natures: generally, then, the possession of all properties necessary for being a certain kind of thing is also sufficient for being that kind of thing.

So one reason for rejecting monophysitism is that the world is simply not carved up in a way that allows for monophysitism. Another is that monophysitism entails that one and the same object has contradictory attributes in just the same respect:

[16] How can one nature be capable of receiving contradictory essential differences? For how can the same nature, according to itself, be both created and uncreated, mortal and immortal, circumscribed and uncircumscribed?[101]

As we shall see in a moment, one advantage perceived by John in the orthodox position is that it allows contradictory attributes to be divided between the two natures—a strategy that he sees as sufficient to allow one hypostasis to be, for example, both mortal and immortal, though in different respects. This strategy is a commonplace of orthodox Christology from Cyril of Alexandria and Leo onwards.

For John, then, the composite hypostasis has both natures as parts, and their qualities as properties of his.[102] These qualities are divided between the two natures.[103] So the *krasis* of the natures does not entail that either nature loses features proper to itself. Equally, the distinction between the natures means that contradictory attributes can be predicated of the one hypostasis, as long as this predication is made in different respects—in virtue of the different natures. John explains that the qualities of both natures can be predicated of the hypostasis by appealing to the *krasis* or perichoresis of the natures. Furthermore, what allows Christ to have two natures—what explains this—is the fact that the two natures interpenetrate each other. John speaks of the fact that all properties can be predicated of the hypostasis in terms of an *exchange: antidosis*. This exchange is explained by the fact that the hypostasis possesses two mixed, interpenetrating natures. He makes the point in several important passages. For example:

[17] The Word takes on the human attributes, for what pertains to his holy flesh is his, and he imparts what is his to the flesh, according to the manner of *antidosis* through the perichoresis of the parts into each other, and the union according to hypostasis, and because he was one and the same who "acted" in both divine and human ways, "in each form with the communion of the other." Therefore also the Lord of Glory is said to be crucified, though his divine na-

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[101] *Expos.* 47 (2:112.29–32): "Πῶς δὲ καὶ μία φύσις τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσιωδῶν διαφορῶν δεκτικὴ γενήσεται; Πῶς γὰρ δυνατὸν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν κατὰ ταὐτὸν κτιστὴν εἶναι καὶ ἄκτιστον, θνητὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον, περιγραπτὴν καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον."

[102] *Expos.* 48 (2:116.14–117.31); *Volunt.* 7 (4:185b.43–50).

[103] *Jacob.* 81 (4:139.45–52), *Aceph.* 8 (4:415.22–416.24).

ture never suffered, and the Son of Man is confessed to have been in heaven before the passion, as the Lord said.[104]

[18] Therefore when we speak of the divinity, we do not ascribe to it the properties of humanity. For we do not say that the divinity suffers, or is created. Nor do we predicate of the flesh—at least of human flesh—the properties of the divinity. For we do not say that the flesh—at least human flesh—is uncreated.

And concerning the hypostasis, whether we name him from both [parts, i.e., natures] together, or from one of the parts, we ascribe to him the properties of both the natures. For "Christ," which refers to both together, is said to be both God and man, and created and uncreated, and passible and impassible, and when he is named from one of the parts, both Son of God and God, he receives the properties of the co-existing nature, that is of the flesh, being named as the passible God, and the crucified Lord of Glory, not as God, but the same also as man. And when he is named man and Son of man, he receives the properties and glories of the divine nature, a child before the world, a beginningless man, not as child and man, but as being before the world *qua* God, he became a child in the last days. And this is the manner of *antidosis,* each nature communicating to the other what is proper to it through the identity of hypostasis and [the natures'] perichoresis into each other. According to this, we can say of Christ that "This our God was seen on earth" [Baruch 3:36, 38], and this man is uncreated and impassible and uncircumscribed.[105]

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[104] *Expos.* 47 (2:115.75–82): "Οἰκειοῦται δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὁ λόγος (αὐτοῦ γάρ εἰσι τὰ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ὄντα) καὶ μεταδιδοῖ τῇ σαρκὶ τῶν ἰδίων κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιδόσεως τρόπον διὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν περιχώρησιν καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν, καὶ ὅτι εἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα »ἐνεργῶν, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ μορφῇ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας«. Διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρῶσθαι λέγεται καίτοι τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ μὴ παθούσης φύσεως, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἶναι ὡμολόγηται, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἔφησεν" (quoting Leo, *Epistola* 28.4 in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2.2.1 [Berlin and Leipzig, 1932], 28.12–13).

[105] *Expos.* 48 (2:117.24–118.42): "Θεότητα μὲν οὖν λέγοντες οὐ κατονομάζομεν αὐτῆς τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἰδιώματα (οὐ γάρ φαμεν θεότητα παθητὴν ἢ κτιστήν) οὔτε δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς ἤτοι τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος κατηγοροῦμεν τὰ τῆς θεότητος ἰδιώματα (οὐ γάρ φαμεν σάρκα ἤτοι ἀνθρωπότητα ἄκτιστον). Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, κἂν ἐκ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου, κἂν ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν μερῶν ταύτην ὀνομάσωμεν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν φύσεων τὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτῇ ἐπιτίθεμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστός, ὅπερ ἐστι τὸ συναμφότερον, καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος λέγεται καὶ κτιστὸς καὶ ἄκτιστος καὶ παθητὸς καὶ ἀπαθής. Καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν μερῶν καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς ὀνομάζηται, δέχεται τὰ τῆς συνυφεστηκυίας φύσεως ἰδιώματα ἤτοι τῆς σαρκός, θεὸς παθητὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρωμένος, οὐ καθὸ θεὸς ἀλλὰ καθὸ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός· καὶ ὅταν ἄνθρωπος καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὀνομάζηται, δέχεται τὰ τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἰδιώματα καὶ αὐχήματα παιδίον προαιώνιον καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄναρχος, οὐ καθὸ παιδίον καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ καθὸ θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος γέγομεν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων παιδίον. Καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας

The most important source of this teaching is Ps.-Cyril: [18] is a direct quotation, as is the whole of the chapter of *Expositio fidei* from which it is taken.[106] According to these texts, the perichoresis of the natures results in the *antidosis* of their qualities, such that the qualities of the natures are properties of the one hypostasis. Note that, despite some of John's language, this *antidosis* has nothing to do with any sort of exchange of qualities *between* the natures. What is at issue is merely the fact that the divine and human natures and qualities belong to the hypostasis.[107] All of the examples in [17] and [18] make this clear enough. Furthermore, it is evident from the first paragraph of [18]—and from [19], the passage quoted below—that John in any case explicitly denies that examples of the *antidosis* have anything to do with the exchange of attributes between the natures. The basic argument is that the predicability of divine and human qualities of the one hypostasis is explained by the fact that the two natures are united in one hypostasis, such that the hypostasis is the subject of the natures and their qualities. This union is explained in turn in terms of the perichoresis of the two natures in each other, or of their *krasis*: in short, the union is explained by their mutual interpenetration. So the mutual interpenetration of the divine and human natures entails that divine and human natures belong to the one hypostasis (are parts of this hypostasis), and that this in turn means that qualities can be predicated of the one hypostasis. The *antidosis* of the properties is their belonging to the one hypostasis. I shall return to this in a moment.

We should note too that, despite his talk of a hypostasis composed of two parts, the divine nature and the human nature, there is no sense in which John affirms any sort of Nestorianism. Crucially, the one hypostasis retains identity through the Incarnation, existing first as simple and later as composite.[108] To this extent, the hypostasis is not just a whole composed of parts: it is properly speaking something underlying the two natures. (At [11] we learn that a hypostatic union or *krasis* "is a nature coming to another hypostasis," and "a thing supporting diverse natures.") What all this tells us, I think, is that John's use of the term "part" is careless, and (unless construed very loosely) misleading.

φύσεως ἀντιδιδούσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Κατὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεθα εἰπεῖν περὶ Χριστοῦ· »Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη«, καί· Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἄκτιστός ἐστι καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος."

[106] Ps.-Cyril, *Trin.* 27 (*PG* 77:1172A–D); for the term *antidosis,* see too, e.g., Leontius of Byzantium, *Nest. et Eut.* (*PG* 86:1289C) and *Epilyseis* (*PG* 86:1941A); Leontius of Jerusalem, *Contra monophysitas* 10 (*PG* 86:1776D), 25 (*PG* 86:1785C); and Maximus, *Opusc.* (*PG* 91:189D, 240A) and *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (*PG* 91:296D).

[107] For this analysis, see too Rozemond, *La Christologie de saint Jean Damascène,* 32–33.

[108] *Jacob.* 52 (4:126.30–127.33).

Both [17] and [18] make it clear that concrete substantives used of Christ refer to the hypostasis irrespective of the nature connoted. Thus there is, for example, no thought that the truth of a proposition such as "The Lord of Glory was crucified" requires the divine nature to have been crucified. Quite the contrary; this is precisely what John's strategy here is designed to avoid:

[19] "Each form does what is proper to it with the communion of the other." There-fore the Lord of Glory is said to be crucified, clearly not in divinity but in the flesh that exists with him; and the Son of man is said to have ascended to where he was before—not to where he was before as man, but to where he existed as God, not separated from the Father. Neither do we proclaim the di-vinity to be passible, or to suffer in the flesh; nor do we confess the flesh—at least human flesh—to pre-exist the world.[109]

The vital last sentence here confirms the reading of [17] and [18] suggested above. The idea is not that the human nature shares in the qualities of the di-vine nature, or that the divine nature shares in the qualities of the human na-ture, but that the hypostasis who possesses both natures shares in the properties of both natures. The strategy is anti-Nestorian, and is designed to allay the monophysites' fears when confronted with this notorious passage from Leo: it is the person, not the natures, who is the subject of divine and human accidents. It is true, as I shall show in the next section, that there is an additional sense in which the human nature participates in the qualities of the divine nature. But what is at issue in passages such as [18] is the mutual sharing of the attributes, and John is always explicit—as I shall show in sec-tion 4—that there is no sense in which the human nature communicates its at-tributes to the divine nature. So I take it that, in passages such as [18], John is not concerned to ascribe the properties of the one nature to the other, but merely to ascribe the properties of both to the one hypostasis.[110]

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[109] *Jacob.* 81 (4:139.33–40, again quoting Leo, *Epistola* 28.4 as in n. 104 above): "«Ἐνερ-γεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφὴ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας τουθ᾽, ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν· διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρῶσθαι λέγεται δηλαδὴ ὡς οὐ θεότητι, ἀλλὰ τῇ συνυφεστη-κυίᾳ σαρκί, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεληλυθέναι, ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον, γέγραπται, οὐχ ᾗ τὸ πρότερον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα ὡς θεὸς ὑπῆρχε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδιαίρετος. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν θεότητα παθητὴν ἢ πάσχειν σαρκὶ καταγγέλλομεν οὔτε τὴν σάρκα ἤτοι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα προαιώνιον ὁμολογοῦμεν."

[110] My argument is that these uses of "perichoresis" are ways of talking about a state, not an action: the union *in facto esse*, not *in fieri*. It might be thought that John's claim that the natures interpenetrate *into* (*eis* + acc.) each other suggests a process more than a state. But Prestige rightly assimilates this use to those where John talks about the natures' inter-penetration *within* (*en* + dat.) each other (see the passages quoted in Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 249 and 251, where John uses the two constructions synonymously). Prestige contrasts this with the treatment of perichoresis found in Maximus. Maximus talks of the natures' perichoresis "towards" each other (*pros* + acc.; see Maximus, *Opusc.* [*PG* 91:88A]),

All in all, then, I hope to have established in this section that there is a clear sense of the mutual interpenetration or perichoresis of the two natures in the incarnate Christ, and that this mutual interpenetration is used by John to undergird his talk about the *antidosis,* the result of which is the predication of all natures and qualities of the one hypostasis. This understanding is wholly in line with the basic Stoic teaching on the nature of *krasis,* according to which a *krasis* results in the predication of all attributes of the composed whole. In the next section, I will try to draw out a rather different sense of perichoresis, a sense extra-theoretical to the issue of the *antidosis tōn idiōmatōn.*

4. PERICHORESIS AND DEIFICATION

As we have seen in section 2, John's distinctive account of that sort of *krasis* that is causally explained by the activity of one of the mixed natures requires that the *krasis* is brought about by the active nature's making the passive nature participate in its qualities. The Incarnation is an instance of this sort of *krasis,* and not surprisingly John sees the divine nature as the active partner in the union. John gives two reasons for wanting to ascribe this causal activity to the divine nature. First, God cannot change; hence nothing about him can be caused.[111] Secondly, *krasis* involves interpenetration; and nothing in fact (actively) interpenetrates God, for he (actively) interpenetrates all things.[112] These last two points are linked, in the sense that John wants to reduce all talk of God's presence in things to talk of God's causal and sustaining activity: God is omnipresent in the sense that he preserves everything in existence.[113] We should not think of this account of the immateriality of the divine nature as eviscerating John's *krasis* language of all meaning here; after all, the paradigm cases of interpenetration for John are not concrete individ-

and Prestige takes this as evidence that Maximus has in mind a *"reciprocation* of joint activity" ("Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 248; see too *God in Patristic Thought,* 295–96). In the background here is Prestige's understanding of the passage from Gregory of Nazianzus quoted above—an understanding that I have already questioned. In fact, it is clear that Maximus understands "perichoresis" in much the same way as John does. In the passage in which Maximus talks of the perichoresis of the natures towards each other, he appears to use "perichoresis" synonymously with *sumphuia,* a word which probably suggests a state, not an activity or process. And in other passages, cited by Prestige, Maximus uses *eis* and *en* just as John does later: see the passages quoted by Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 248. (Andrew Louth's decision to translate *perichōreō* in Maximus as "interpenetrate" is notable too in this context, and wholly appropriate: see Louth, *Maximus the Confessor,* The Early Church Fathers [London and New York, 1996], 175.)

[111] *Jacob.* 52 (4:127.43–5).
[112] *Expos.* 51 (2:126.58–60).
[113] *Expos.* 13 (2:39.42–50).

uals, or even the Stoics' stuffs, but abstract individuals. The materiality or immateriality of such natures is merely a secondary consideration.

The fundamental category here is *deification*. The most important component of the union *in fieri* is the human nature's becoming God, buttressing the truth of the claim that a man is God. There is a second component of the union *in fieri:* Incarnation, the Word's becoming man. John sometimes talks in a way that suggests that there is no distinction between deification and Incarnation, on the one hand, and the union, on the other. So let me begin with two passages—passages which I shall argue are atypical—where John seems in effect to reduce talk of the Incarnation merely to talk of union. Perhaps the most striking passage is the following:

[20] Union is one thing, and Incarnation another. For union implies only conjunction, but never that to which the conjunction is made. But Incarnation (which is to say too humanation) implies union to flesh, that is, to man, just as ignition implies union with fire.[114]

Here, John distinguishes "union" from "Incarnation" merely in terms of the increased specificity of "Incarnation"—"Incarnation" specifies the end term of the union. And in another passage, John uses both "deification" and "Incarnation" merely as ways of talking about the union between the human nature and the Word:

[21] Just as ignition does not imply a change in the igniter, but union with fire, so also deification implies union with the divinity, and Incarnation union with flesh.[115]

Here the context is important: an attempt to gloss Cyril's "one nature" formula by arguing that "incarnate" means "united with flesh," such that it is true that only one nature is incarnate—that is, united with flesh.[116] The aim, in other words, is to give an orthodox sense to a formula that on the face of it sits uneasily with the notion of a hypostatic union. In fact, neither [20] nor [21] is typical, either of John's use of Incarnation/deification, or of his talk of fire's igniting things. There are two ways in which these two passages are unusual. First, both Incarnation/deification and ignition are usually understood by John

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[114] *Expos.* 55 (2:131.22–132.26): "῎Αλλο μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἕνωσις, καὶ ἕτερον σάρκωσις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἕνωσις μόνην δηλοῖ τὴν συνάφειαν, πρὸς τί δὲ γέγονεν ἡ συνάφεια, οὐκέτι. Ἡ δὲ σάρκωσις, ταὐτὸν δ' ἐστιν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐνανθρώπησις, τὴν πρὸς σάρκα ἤτοι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον συνάφειαν δηλοῖ, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ πύρωσις τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἕνωσιν."

[115] *Aceph.* 3 (4:411.4[3]–412.7): "῞Ωσπερ γὰρ τὸ πυρούμενον οὐ μεταβολὴν δηλοῖ τοῦ πυρουμένου, ἀλλ' ἕνωσιν τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ θέωσις ἕνωσιν δηλοῖ πρὸς θεότητα καὶ ἡ σάρκωσις ἕνωσιν πρὸς σάρκα."

[116] The rogue formula from Cyril is discussed at *Volunt.* 3 (4:411.2–3 and 412.7–12). See also, e.g., *Jacob.* 52 (4:126.18–21, 126.28–127.32) and [7] above.

to involve the transference of properties. Secondly, they are usually under-
stood by John to be ways of talking about processes: crucially, both Incarna-
tion and deification are understood by John to be ways of talking about the
union *in fieri*.

The point is made unequivocally at *Contra Jacobitas* 52:

> [22] Accordingly, we confess the union of natures according to hypostasis, and the
> Incarnation of the Word, and the deification of the flesh. For Incarnation is
> participation of flesh and the things of the flesh. Thus the substantial hypo-
> stasis of God the Word—that is, God the Word—became both corporeal and a
> hypostasis in flesh. He who first was God, afterwards became flesh, that is
> man, and is said to be one composite hypostasis of two natures, and in him,
> through the Incarnation, the two natures—that of the divinity and that of the
> humanity—are united, and interpenetrate into each other, and the perichoresis
> comes from the divinity. For it bestows on the flesh its proper glory and
> splendour, without participating in the sufferings of the flesh. Through this the
> nature of the flesh is deified, though the nature of the Word is not made flesh.
> The nature of the Word deifies the assumed but is not incarnated.[117]

This passage is followed immediately by [13], and should be read in conjunc-
tion with it. Clearly, "Incarnation" here is understood as a process the result of
which is union. I take it that the same is true of "deification" too, though John
is not quite so clear about this. It is clear in [13] that John is talking about a
process: ignition is the cause of the union between iron and fire, and I take it
that the force of the analogy is that deification is, like Incarnation, a way of
talking about the hypostatic union *in fieri*. Elsewhere, too, John makes it clear
that deification is a process, something that *happens* to the human nature.[118]

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[117] *Jacob.* 52 (4:126.28–127.38): "'Ένωσιν τοιγαροῦν φύσεων καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ τοῦ
λόγου σάρκωσιν καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς θέωσιν ὁμολογοῦμεν· σάρκωσις γάρ ἐστι τὸ μετασχεῖν
σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν τῆς σαρκός. Σαρκοῦται τοίνυν ἡ ἐνούσιος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ὑπόστασις
ἤτοι ὁ θεὸς λόγος καὶ παχύνεται καὶ ὑπόστασις τῇ σαρκὶ γίνεται, καὶ ὢν πρότερον θεὸς
σὰρξ ἤτοι ἄνθρωπος ὕστερον γίνεται καὶ μία τῶν δύο φύσεων χρηματίζει ὑπόστασις
σύνθετος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τῆς σαρκώσεως ἑνοῦνται αἱ δύο φύσεις τῆς τε θεότητος καὶ
τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ περιχωροῦσιν ἐν ἀλλήλαις. Ἡ δὲ περιχώρησις ἐκ τῆς θεότητος
γίνεται· αὕτη γὰρ μεταδίδωσι τῇ σαρκὶ τῆς οἰκείας δόξης τε καὶ λαμπρότητος οὐ
μεταλαμβάνουσα τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν. Διὸ ἡ μὲν φύσις τῆς σαρκὸς θεοῦται, οὐ
σαρκοῖ δὲ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ λόγου."

[118] See, e.g., *Transfig.* 2 (5:438.75–76), where John speaks of the flesh becoming the Word
(i.e., presumably united to the Word); and *Expos.* 61 (2:155.114–15), where John claims that
the deification of the flesh is equivalent to the flesh becoming God. There is a problem here—
viz. the confusion of abstract and concrete—since the human nature is never God. But we can
understand this as a loose way of talking about participation in the divine nature or attributes.
Understanding "deification" as "making God" has respectable pedigree in Athanasius and
others, and as such is unlikely to be criticized by the cautious John.

And this process is unequivocally stated by John to be the *cause* of the *krasis* of natures:

[23] Deification . . . effects . . . the union according to hypostasis.[119]

So the Word, deifying the human nature, causes the mutual interpenetration of the two natures—their perichoresis into each other.[120]

[22] also makes it clear that Incarnation and deification are not wholly parallel: the human nature is deified, but it is the *Word*, not the divine nature, that is incarnated.[121] This point is important, because it helps us to see that the mutual perichoresis of the natures is not understood by John as implying any mutual exchange of attributes between the natures. This shows, among other things, that the attempt in [20] to reduce Incarnation to the union *in facto esse* is egregious—in this case caused by problems resulting from Cyril's innocent appropriation of Apollinarian material. Equally, [22] identifies this deification as one of the forms of interpenetration or perichoresis that can be found in John's account—the active, one-way, interpenetration of the human nature by the divine. I do not think we should think of any intrinsic contradiction in this, because there seem to be two rather different senses of interpenetration here. The first—mutual interpenetration—merely refers to the fact that the qualities of the two natures are had by one hypostasis, or are the qualities of two natures that are two parts of one hypostasis—along the lines suggested inchoately by Gregory of Nazianzus. The second is causal and refers to the divine nature's causing the two natures—itself and the human nature—to be united. The divine nature causes the union of the two natures by making the human nature in some sense participate in its qualities. And the sense of "participate" is that outlined at the end of section 2: the human nature is a subject that has divine qualities as properties of its own.[122] Note too that the talk of a one-way

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[119] *Expos.* 61 (2:156.36–157.37): ". . . ἡ θέωσις οὐ μίαν φύσιν ἀποτελεῖ σύνθετον, ἀλλὰ τὰς δύο καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν."

[120] See too ibid. (2:156.32–36), by analogy with fire.

[121] See too *Expos.* 55 (2:133.50–56): "It has been said that God became man, and man became God. For God the Word became man without alteration. But we have never heard that the divine [nature] became man, or incarnate, or humanized. We have learned that the divinity was united to the humanity in one of its hypostases, and it has been said that God took on another form—that is, essence—that is our own" ("Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεός, εἴρηται. Θεὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος, γέγονεν δὲ ἀμεταβλήτως ἄνθρωπος. Ὅτι δὲ ἡ θεότης ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ἢ ἐσαρκώθη ἢ ἐνηνθρώπησεν, οὐδαμῶς ἀκηκόαμεν. Ὅτι δὲ ἡ θεότης ἡνώθη τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι ἐν μιᾷ τῶν αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεων, μεμαθήκαμεν. Καὶ ὅ τι ὁ θεὸς μορφοῦται ἤτοι οὐσιοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον ἤτοι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, εἴρηται"). On the humanization of the Word, see too *Expos.* 91 (2:214.66–67) where John—in a passage that quotes Ps.-Cyril—claims that the Word is humanized.

[122] Note too the claim in [22] that the Word participates in the flesh, and it is hard to see

perichoresis clearly relates to Porphyry's account of these matters, discussed too in section 2: the active nature in a *krasis* interpenetrates (*chōrein*) the weaker, passive nature.

This deification—the one-way perichoresis from the divine nature—is understood by John basically in terms of the Neoplatonist category of *participation*, an account of John's understanding of which I offered at the end of section 2 above. When talking about deification generally, John makes it clear that it should be reduced to a kind of participation. In fact, the chapter of *Expositio fidei* devoted to the topic of deification talks almost exclusively in terms of participation.[123]

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just how seriously John intends this claim. Equally, at *Jacob.* 53 (4:127.35–36) John claims that the union is from the divine *nature* (and thus by implication not from the Word as such). See too **[12]** above.

[123]   The chapter is *Expos.* 86. John makes it clear here that this participation is identified as deification: see ibid. (2:196.129), where John talks about our participating in divinity as our being "deified" (θεωθῶμεν). On general participation in divinity, see ibid. (2:191.1–12), where John explains that everything shares in God's goodness; for an account of participation in divinity as such see ibid. (2:191.17–192.25); and for John's claim that this participation is specifically a participation in *Christ's* divinity see ibid. (2:197.167–72). This last claim allows us to see why our participation in the divine nature—our deification—does not result in a *krasis* between our nature and God's. Our deification is *mediated;* it is a participation not in divinity as such but in *Christ's* divinity, and presumably it is the *krasis* between Christ's divine and human natures that allows our mediated participation. On participation in divine properties as deification, see too *Jacob.* 83 (4:140.7–141.15); and *Expos.* 61 (2:155.10[61]–156.15) and 91 (2:213.43, 214.53–55). At *Expos.* 51 (2:126.57–63), John claims that the flesh receives "gifts" from the Word. As noted above, Neoplatonists understood participation ultimately as imitation. For the related claim that deification in Christian writers should be understood as the *imitation* of a divine attribute, see Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor,* Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 25 (Lund and Copenhagen, 1965), 457. The best account of the philosophical aspects of deification in the Fathers is still Jules Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les pères grecs: contribution historique à la doctrine de la grâce* (Paris, 1938), with a discussion of John on 328–38. Gross gives an account of different forms of deification in the Neoplatonists, but he ignores the aspect of the issue that seems relevant for me here, namely, the question of the nature of *participation*—a notion that, I am arguing, is identified by John of Damascus in the Christological context with deification. My claim is that we can understand better John's understanding of deification here if we focus specifically on participation. But Gross's account confirms another aspect of my interpretation of John, viz. the correct understanding of the nature in the species. According to Gross, the Word assumed common human nature, which is then deified by *contact* with the Word; persons, contrariwise, are deified by imitation (see ibid., 338). As we have seen, John is explicit that common human nature is assumed by the Word as a *part* of the individual nature that the Word assumes. So Gross's claim about contact looks plausible. (I might want to disagree with Gross's second claim, that other persons are deified by imitation. Common human nature is a part of each of us, and it is easy to imagine that human persons—or at least some human persons—might be deified by their contact with this human nature; and we should be clear that deification on my account, whether by contact or imitation, always

In sum, for John talk of participation and deification is a way of talking about the union *in fieri*. As such, it correlates to talk about Incarnation. But Incarnation involves the Word's (the *person's*) reception of human qualities, whereas deification results in the human *nature's* reception of divine qualities. As [22] makes clear, deification is too the active interpenetration of the human nature by the divine. The hypostatic union—that is, the *mutual* interpenetration of the natures—is the *result* of this, where this union or mutual interpenetration has the further result that all qualities, divine and human, are possessed by the Word. And this possession is referred to by John as the *antidosis* of the properties. The distinction between the (human nature's) *reception* of qualities and the (person's) *possession* of qualities is the difference between a process and a state—between the union *in fieri* and *in facto esse*.

All this seems to me to help us understand [12] more accurately. For [12] is quotation from Ps.-Cyril, and Wolfson expounds Ps.-Cyril's understanding of [12] as follows:

> In this passage, pseudo-Cyril quite evidently deals not with the "properties" but rather with the "natures," and what he is trying to do is to explain how the man in Jesus humanates the divine in him. The starting point in his explanation, logically, is his analysis of the hypostatic union into two acts, the deification of the flesh and the incarnation of the Word. Then as the next step in his explanation he shows how each of these two acts is a penetration, as a result of which he describes the confluence of these two acts as the penetration of the two natures, the Word and the flesh, into one another. Finally he concludes that these two penetrations do not spring simultaneously from the Word and the flesh as from two independent sources. There is a causal relation between them and hence, in that sense, one of these penetrations may be described as prior. . . . It was only after the first penetration, whereby the flesh became deified, had taken place that the second penetration occurred, namely, the penetration of the already deified human nature into the divine nature, and it is this second penetration "which in particular," as in the passage quoted he says, "we call union."[124]

Whatever the merits of this as an interpretation of Ps.-Cyril, I think that we have already seen enough to refuse it as a legitimate interpretation of John. As Wolfson understands Ps.-Cyril, the initial transfer of attributes is one-way, from the divine nature to the human nature. But there is in Wolfson's account another active component here: the union itself is the derivative interpenetrative activity of the assumed nature, directed towards the divine nature. In

involves the possession of attributes that are *like* divine attributes, but distinct from these attributes.)

[124] Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 423–24.

favor of this sort of reading of [12] is the material in passages such as [22] where John claims that the mutual interpenetration of the natures arises from the active interpenetration of the divine nature. This might suggest that John wants to identify the divine component in the mutual interpenetration with the active interpenetration of the human nature by the divine.

But this is not the only reading of [12] and [22]. John could be explaining the mutual interpenetration of the two natures by a *further,* different sort of interpenetration—the active interpenetration that originates from the divine nature. This interpenetration, as John makes clear, results in the transference of certain divine attributes to the human nature. John explicitly denies the further component of Wolfson's exposition, namely, that the assumed nature has some active role in the interpenetration of the natures—the assumed nature does not communicate any of its attributes to the divine *nature;* in so far as the human nature communicates its attributes to anything, it communicates them to the Word, the divine *person,* not the divine nature. John understands the union as the mutual, static, indwelling of the two natures. John talks about this indwelling as "perichoresis," just as he talks of the one-way, active interpenetration of the human by the divine as "perichoresis." But on my reading of John, *contra* Wolfson, there are two distinct claims being made about the divine nature here, not just one. The divine nature actively interpenetrates the human nature, deifying it; and it (statically) indwells the human nature just as the human nature statically indwells the divine nature. The first of these is the cause of the union (the union *in fieri*); the second is the Word's possession of human attributes (the union *in facto esse*). If I am right about John's understanding of Incarnation, he cannot mean to identify Incarnation as a component of the mutual interpenetration of the natures. Wolfson in effect reduces talk of union to talk of Incarnation and deification; his account of John thus allows for the union *in fieri* but ignores the union *in facto esse.*[125]

What sorts of divine attributes does John believe the human nature to have through its participation in the divine? None of this talk of Incarnation and deification requires the obliteration of essential properties:

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[125] It has often been noted that John's Christology is asymmetric in various ways (see, e.g., Rozemond, *La Christologie de saint Jean Damascène,* 17–49). In the material I am discussing here, this asymmetry shows itself in terms of the failure of the human nature to communicate its attributes to the divine nature. According to John, the Word has divine and human attributes (as a result of the mutual interpenetration or perichoresis of the natures); the human nature has certain divine attributes (as a result of the active interpenetration or perichoresis of the divine nature to it—the deification of the human nature); but there is no reciprocal communication to the divine nature. The Incarnation is the active communication of human attributes to the divine *person.*

[24] We determine that [the natures'] essential difference is preserved. For the created remains created, the uncreated uncreated. The mortal remained mortal, and the immortal immortal; the circumscribed circumscribed, the uncircumscribed uncircumscribed, the visible visible, the invisible invisible. "The one shone with wonders, the other fell prey to insults."[126]

Having precluded this possible misunderstanding, we are in a position to examine more closely the list of divine properties received by the human nature. The most noteworthy is omniscience:

[25] For even if he was of a nature that does not know the future, nevertheless because of unity according to hypostasis with God the Word [the soul] had knowledge of all things, not by grace but, as we have said, by union according to hypostasis.[127]

Here John—treating the human nature as the subject of divine knowledge—expressly distinguishes the possession of the attribute "by grace" and the possession of the attribute "by union." The deification of Christ's human nature—though not of any other human nature—has a causal role in the hypostatic union. The divine nature, causing the human nature to participate in (some of) its attributes, causes that nature to be unconfusedly mixed with the divine nature in the hypostatic union.

What other divine attributes does John allow to be participated in by the human nature? Clearly, as we have seen, some attributes are not possibly shared, on pain of contradiction—being uncreated, for example; in short, any attribute that is the contradictory of a property possessed necessarily by the human nature. John's examples of appropriate shareable divine attributes include, in addition to wisdom, adorability (we adore the flesh, not as flesh but as united to the divinity),[128] exaltation,[129] glory,[130] and incorruptibility (in the sense of the inseparability of the four elements).[131] In terms of activity, the human na-

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[126] *Expos.* 47 (2:115.70–74): "Καὶ σῴζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν οὐσιώδη διαφορὰν ὁριζόμεθα· τὸ γὰρ κτιστὸν μεμένηκε κτιστὸν καὶ τὸ ἄκτιστον ἄκτιστον, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἔμεινε θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον τὸ ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸ περιγραπτὸν περιγραπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον ἀπερίγραπτον, τὸ ὁρατὸν ὁρατὸν καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον ἀόρατον· »Τὸ μὲν διαλάμπει τοῖς θαύμασι, τὸ δὲ ταῖς ὕβρεσιν ὑποπέπτωκεν«" (quoting Leo, *Epistola* 28.4, in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2.2.1:28.14). See too the first paragraph of [18] above, and the general Stoic claim that neither nature in a *krasis* is destroyed—a claim that requires the natures to retain all of their qualities.

[127] *Expos.* 36 (2:91.101–3): "Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀγνοούσης τὰ μέλλοντα φύσεως ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅμως καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωθεῖσα τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ πάντων τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχεν οὐ χάριτι, ἀλλ', ὡς εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν."

[128] *Expos.* 52 (2:127.28–30).

[129] *Expos.* 91 (2:213.44).

[130] *Transfig.* 12 (5:450.12–22[12]).

[131] *Expos.* 72 (2:171.1–11[72]).

ture is said to be life-giving,[132] and always to will in accordance with the divine will.[133] (I will mention another relevant sense of shared activity—so-called "theandric" activity—in the next section.)

This material is sufficient to show that the interpretation of John offered by G. L. Prestige is false. According to Prestige, John's talk of the active perichoresis of the divine nature into the human nature is properly understood in terms of the *antidosis*, which Prestige rightly understands as the predication of divine and human attributes of the one person:

> . . . this is purely a matter of formality or nomenclature: no properties of either nature are really transferred through it to the other, but the title derived from either nature may be applied to the Person in whom both natures are united.[134]

Prestige reads the deification material that I am discussing in this section in the light of the *antidosis* material. Thus, having cited some passages in which John talks about "a real transference of divine powers to the human nature of Christ,"[135] Prestige notes in his next paragraph:

> Consequently there is no justification for supposing that the added or heightened powers referred to in the last paragraph were regarded by John as really bestowed on the human nature. Rather they were manifested through it.[136]

Prestige is in difficulties here—understandably so, because it is hard to unpack all the different and seemingly contradictory things that John says. Not least, Prestige is confusing *antidosis* with perichoresis.[137] But he is confusing two different sorts of perichoresis too: while it is the case that the mutual perichoresis of the natures has nothing to do with the predication of divine attributes of the human nature (and everything to do with the trope of *antidosis*), it is not the case that the active perichoresis from the divine nature to the human nature—the deification of the human nature—has nothing to do

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[132] *Expos.* 61 (2:156.24–25).

[133] Ibid. (2:156.25–31). This list of transferred attributes means that it is false to claim (as Prestige does) that the perichoresis from the divine nature to the human nature involves no more than the divine activities: see Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 250.

[134] Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 251. I am not happy, for reasons that should be clear, with Prestige's claim that there is no extra-linguistic relation between the properties of the natures and the hypostasis of the Word; but let us not dwell on this here. See too Rozemond, *La Christologie de saint Jean Damascène*, 32, arguing against Prestige: "Cependant il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une communication des noms, comme on l'a cru parfois, mais bien réellement d'une communication des propriétés, dont celle des noms n'est qu'une expression."

[135] Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and Περιχώρησις," 250.

[136] Ibid., 251. Prestige could cite [25] in favor of his reading.

[137] Perichoresis is the mutual indwelling or interpenetration; the *antidosis* is the ascription of attributes to the divine person, and it is *explained by* perichoresis.

with the predication of divine attributes of the human nature. If we keep in mind the clearly Neoplatonic background to John's talk of the deification of the human nature, I think we will be less inclined to reduce all of this to the *krasis* of the two natures—which is the effect of Prestige's proposed reading. The human nature really participates in some of the divine attributes, and it does so in order that there might be a *krasis* of the two natures: in short, in order for the hypostatic union to take place.

5. PERICHORESIS AND CHRIST'S ACTION

When considering the nature of actions and their relations to the causal powers in virtue of which they are elicited—and ultimately to the persons that elicit them—John makes it clear that, properly speaking, only persons (and not, for example, natures) act. A nature is merely the power (or, presumably, includes the power) by which a person wills the action. John's reason for this is that if a nature were the cause of an action, it would be hard to see how different persons, sharing the same nature (different human beings for example), could will different actions.[138] Accordingly, John often makes it clear that the one agent in Christ's activity is the hypostasis. This hypostasis—just as it exists in divine and human ways in virtue of the *krasis* of the two natures—acts in divine and human ways too.[139] The idea is that the Word is the sole agent, but that his actions can involve the two natures. John uses this insight to gloss Leo's claim, enshrined at Chalcedon, that each nature acts in communion with the other. According to John, we should understand this to mean that all actions—divine and human—have one and the same person as their causal origin.[140] The case of the so-called "theandric" actions is similar: some of the actions that the Word causes necessarily involve the causality of *both* natures.[141] Maximus's Origenistic image of the hot iron helps John to clarify

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[138] *Volunt.* 22 (4:204.1–8[22]).

[139] *Expos.* 59 (2:145.37–146.49).

[140] Ibid. (2:150.155–56): "Each [action] is common [to both natures] because of the identity of hypostasis" ("'Ἀλλ' ὅμως κοινῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἑκάτερα διὰ τὸ τοῦτὸν τῆς ὑποστάσεως"); see too ibid. (2:151.177–87).

[141] *Expos.* 63 (2:160.1–162.51; see esp. 160.7–161.14: "But [Dionysius] wished to show the new and ineffable manner in which the natural energies of Christ reveal themselves, appropriate to the ineffable manner of the perichoresis towards each other of the natures of Christ ... and [to show] the manner of the exchange according to the ineffable union. For we do not say that the energies are divided, and that the natures act separately, but in union, each doing what is proper to is with the communion of the other" ("ἀλλὰ θέλων δεῖξαι τὸν καινὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον τρόπον τῆς τῶν φυσικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεργειῶν ἐκφάνσεως τῷ ἀπορρήτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν Χριστοῦ φύσεων περιχωρήσεως προσφόρως ... καὶ τὸν

here: a hot iron does not cut without heating, or heat without cutting.[142]

Just as in the case of the mixture of the natures, however, John sometimes talks of Christ's action rather differently. Specifically, John sometimes talks in terms not of a mix of natures resulting in common action, but of the human nature's participation in divine activities—either as a sort of agent that acts in a divine manner,[143] or as the organ or instrument of the divinity (where the divinity, and not the Word, now seems to be thought of as an agent).[144]

This brief discussion of John on Christ's activity helps confirm my overall thesis, namely, that John's account of the hypostatic union involves two components. The one is the mutual interpenetration of the two natures, resulting in the hypostasis being the subject of properties—and actions—had or caused in virtue of two different natures. The second is the active interpenetration of the human nature by the divine (according to John a necessary causal condition, I have been arguing, for the first interpenetration). But the discussion of Christ's activity also lays bare some of the potential problems with John's account. Specifically, in the case of Christ's activity, the difficulty manifests itself in John's tendency to slip from talk of the person being the cause of Christ's activity to talk of the *natures* being the cause of the activity. (Note too, above, John's tendency to think of the human nature as the subject of human knowledge.) In the case of the perichoresis of the natures, the difficulty lies in treating the human nature as analogous to a person—a *subject* that is itself capable of sharing certain extrinsic (in this case, divine) properties.

6. JOHN IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTOLOGY

None of the elements of John's theory is original. I have indicated above—using data simply derived from Kotter's magnificent edition of John's works—that a lot of the material discussed here in fact comes more or less directly from earlier sources: Maximus, for example, and particularly Ps.-Cyril. But the combination is unique to him and appears to form a reasonably consistent whole. In particular, John develops far more fully something that is left

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τρόπον τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἕνωσιν ἀντιδόσεως· οὐ διῃρημένας γάρ φαμεν τὰς ἐνεργείας οὐδὲ διῃρημένως ἐνεργούσας τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἡνωμένας, ἑκάστην μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ἐνεργοῦσαν τοῦθ᾽, ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν"). See also *Volunt.* 44 (4:229.1–3[44]).

[142] *Expos.* 59 (2:148.104–19).

[143] See, for example, the discussion of Christ's knowledge above, passage [25], and the claim that Christ's flesh is "life-giving"; for this, see n. 130 above.

[144] *Expos.* 59 (2:150.168–151.176); *Volunt.* 43 (4:229.10–18[43]).

only implicit in Leontius of Byzantium, namely, that the individuals that interpenetrate in the hypostatic union are distinct bundles of universals. John uses the nominalists' *enhypostaton* to explain the non-subsistence of such bundles. Equal in importance is John's Porphyrian combination of Stoic physics with Neoplatonist metaphysics in an attempt to make sense of the hypostatic union as two forms of perichoresis. Specifically, John suggests that "becoming God"—a component of the union *in fieri*—requires that the human nature participate in divine attributes. John combines these two elements in a way that appears to be unique to him, distinguishing the mutual perichoresis of the two natures from the active interpenetration of the human by the divine (the deification of the human nature). The components of John's theory are very often just taken from the tradition; but the way in which they are combined results in a new theory. (Compare in particular the treatments of perichoresis in John and his main source, Ps.-Cyril.) Generally, the handing of material is far more assured than in the earlier writers.

Perhaps more interesting than this, however, is an assessment of John's influence on later theologians—and here I shall concentrate on the West, where John's influence was distinctive and theologically fruitful in ways that expanded the horizons of John's theology in often creative directions. Generally, this influence was most strongly felt among the Lutheran reformers. The medieval schoolmen had scant need for the notion of the deification of the flesh, and still less for the Stoic theory of mixture that is central to John's distinctive understanding of the hypostatic union. This is not to say that John was not hugely important for the medievals. But his importance lies principally in his role as a transmitter of the Chalcedonian tradition; John's distinctive positions were all but ignored. There are two exceptions to this claim. One is John's doctrine of the individuality of Christ's human nature. The second is the Cyrilline claim that Christ's flesh is worthy of adoration (the position is distinctive to John in the sense that it forms part of his distinctive account of the deification of the human nature, something that for John has a *causal* role in the Incarnation).

The first of these is complex. Medieval theories of universals often involve something like the Aphrodisian claim that a common nature has particularity (and thus numerical multiplicity) as a property of its. But this claim is derived in this context not from John but from the great Islamic thinker Avicenna, who I assume did not know John's work.[145] That said, the claim that the assumed nature is an individual was invariably accepted by the medievals, and

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[145] Boethius was another source for the medievals. As Tweedale has noted, we cannot rule out the possibility too that Alexander of Aphrodisias was the source for Avicenna as well as for Boethius. But the teaching is, as I have been arguing, quite different from John's.

almost universally merely on the authority of John, with no attempt to provide (other—i.e., non-authoritative) reasons in favor of this individuality. Oddly, despite the medievals' acceptance of the individuality of the assumed nature, they invariably understand this in terms of what I am labelling "particularity" (and this is true whether this particularity is understood in the context of nominalist or realist theories of universals).

The second is more interesting, not least because the medievals are generally clear that there is no sense in which the *communicatio idiomatum* should be understood to entail that divine attributes can be predicated of the human nature. On the face of it there is an exception to this: the almost universal medieval acceptance of the adorability of the human nature. The presence of this seeming exception is itself at least in part explained by the direct quotation of the relevant material from John of Damascus in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.[146] But the medievals did not buttress the claim about the adorability of Christ's human nature by an appeal to deification, or to participation in divine attributes. Neither did they appeal to any sort of communication of divine attributes to the human nature (in contradistinction from the later Lutheran theologians). Indeed, they usually consciously rejected these sorts of explanation for the adorability of the human nature, replacing it with the theory that adoration is always directed to a whole person. On this theory, the whole Christ includes his human nature, and in this way the human nature—considered strictly as part of the whole Christ—is adored. It is the person, not the nature, that is properly adored.[147]

John's positive importance for the medievals lies in his firm grasp that the *antidosis* of properties should be understood as amounting to the prediction of all attributes of the person of the Word.[148] Understanding the *communicatio*

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[146] See Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in quatuor libris distinctae* 3.9 n. 4 (3d ed., 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5 [Grottaferrata, 1971–81], 2:70), citing John, *Expos.* 52 (2:127.19–128.34).

[147] A clear discussion of this can be found, for example, in Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum* 3.9.1.1 (*Opera omnia,* 10 vols. [Quaracchi, 1882–1902], 3:200b–201a).

[148] The medievals needed to extrapolate from their translations of John to arrive at this conclusion. The translation of Burgundio of Pisa, for example, translates the crucial Ps.-Cyrilline passage as follows: "hic est modus retributionis, alterutra natura retribuente alteri quae propria, propter hypostaseos (id est personae) identitatem et eam quae ad invicem circumcessionem. Secundum hoc possumus dicere de Christo: Hic 'Deus noster, et super terram visus est,' et: Homo hic increabilis est et impassibilis et incircumscriptibilis": *Expos.* 48 (John of Damascus, *De Fide Orthodoxa: Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus,* ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, Franciscan Institute Publications Text Series 8 [St. Bonaventure, Louvain, and Paderborn, 1955], 183.46–51); this passage is a translation of the Greek that I translate in the last two sentences of [18]). This gives us the predication of all attributes of the one person, but

idiomatum in this way helps avoid ambiguity; if we think that there is any sense in which the human nature shares in divine attributes, it might be best to reserve the term "deification" for this.

Orthodox Lutheran theologians have more invested in John's theory, not least because John was a major source of the Lutheran belief that the human nature shares in the attributes of the divine nature. Martin Chemnitz's *De duabus naturis in Christo*,[149] for example (a standard exposition of the Lutheran Christology enshrined in the *Formula of Concord*), relies heavily on John's teaching for the so-called *genus maiestaticum*. And it is clear enough that Chemnitz's position is in certain respects close to that defended by John, in the sense that both John and Chemnitz suppose that the assumed nature shares in some way in divine attributes—though the position appears in Chemnitz without all the apparatus of Stoic physics and Neoplatonic metaphysics that undergirds John's account.[150]

In fact, it is clear that John's *reasons* for positing the deification of the assumed nature or flesh are so closely tied in with his very distinctive understanding of an aspect of Stoic physics—the theory of *krasis*—that John's writings do not yield a theologically or philosophically compelling reason for accepting the deification of the humanity (except in the loose sense of "union with the Word"). Specifically, this belief results from John's Neoplatonic understanding of the Stoic notion of *krasis*. It seems likely that John accepts this because he needs a way of understanding the union *in fieri* that allows for the truth of the claim that a man became God, corresponding to the claim that

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it does not associate it directly with the technical term that people came to use (i.e., *communicatio idiomatum*). Equally, the phrase *modum retributionis* did not pass into general use as a way of talking about the *communicatio idiomatum*.

[149] Jena, 1591.

[150] To this extent, the position defended by the Lutherans is not a new position, though the terminology is certainly new. What is new too in the Lutheran theologians is the list of divine attributes held to be communicable to the human nature—in particular, ubiquity (central in the Lutheran disputes with the Reformed theologians about the nature of the Eucharist, but certainly repudiated by John, who insists on the necessarily spatially circumscribed character of the human nature—see, e.g., passage [24] above). And Chemnitz insists that the attributes in which the human natures shares are not created qualities—they are in some sense the divine attributes themselves. John, on the contrary (I have been arguing), does not have a conception of uncreated grace. The third Lutheran genus, the *genus apotelesmaticum* makes use of one of John's proposals for understanding theandric actions—namely, that the human nature is an *instrument* of the Word (see, e.g., Chemnitz, *De duabus naturis* 17 [fol. 107r–v]). The terminology again is new, but the basic position can be found defended earlier, in this case in some of the schoolmen. Aquinas, for example (following John of Damascus), understands the claim that Christ's flesh is life-giving to mean that the flesh is *instrumental* in the life-giving activity of the incarnate Word: see *Super evangelium S. Ioannis lectura* 6.6.7 n. 959 (ed. Raphael Cai [Turin and Rome, 1952], 180b).

God became man. That is not to say that there might not be other reasons for accepting the deification of the humanity, but a consideration of this question would take me beyond the merely historical objectives of this paper.[151]

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[151] Thanks to Chris Kraus for kindly checking all my translations.

LEO OF OSTIA, THE MONTECASSINO CHRONICLE, AND THE *DIALOGUES* OF ABBOT DESIDERIUS

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IN the dedicatory epistle that prefaces his work, Leo of Ostia (Leo Marsicanus) reports how Abbot Oderisius I (1087–1105) commissioned him to undertake the writing of the Montecassino Chronicle. What was originally envisioned as a Life of Abbot Desiderius (1058–87) was to be expanded into a larger history of the monastery.[1] Oderisius was concerned primarily about the properties of the abbey, conceiving of the history, in the first instance at least, as a useful record of the dates and circumstances under which they had come into Montecassino's possession. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Leo's account contains a good deal of information of this sort. However, Oderisius also had a more general work in mind, one that would record all major developments in the history of the monastery as well as other memorable events in the history of southern Italy. Hence Leo's text embraces both the history of Montecassino itself and a good deal of secular history as well. Book one contains a lengthy excursus on how the kingdom of Italy was transferred from the French to the Germans under Otto the Great;[2] book two provides an equally extensive treatment of the Normans' arrival in southern Italy,[3] followed by an account of their conquest of Apulia;[4] and book three records both Robert Guiscard's capture of Calabria and Sicily and Richard of Aversa's securing of the principality of Capua.[5] The Chronicle of Montecassino is far from being simply a monastic history narrowly conceived. Throughout the work, however, Leo keeps his attention firmly focused on Montecassino itself. Not only is most of his account concerned directly with developments at Montecassino and its dependencies,

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[1] *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* [*Chron. Cas.*], Epist. Leonis (ed. Harmut Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, MGH Scriptores 34 [Hannover, 1980], 4–5). On Desiderius and Oderisius I, see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten von Montecassino," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47 (1967): 224–354 at 320–21 and 322.

[2] *Chron. Cas.* 1.61 (ed. Hoffmann, 152–56).

[3] Ibid. 2.37 (ed. Hoffmann, 236–40).

[4] Ibid. 2.66 (ed. Hoffmann, 298–301). In the first recension of Leo's text the account is a brief one. It is much expanded in the second and third recensions. See below at nn. 6–8.

[5] Ibid. 3.15 (ed. Hoffmann, 377–79).

but Montecassino and its interests also function as a prism through which events in the larger world around it are perceived.

Thanks most recently to the efforts of Hartmut Hoffmann, the complex textual history of the Chronicle now seems relatively clear.[6] Leo began working on it about 1099, but left it unfinished on his death in 1115. He breaks off at *Chron. Cas.* 3.33, having reached only the mid-point of Desiderius's abbacy.[7] Leo was followed by Guido of Montecassino, who was responsible for the portion from *Chron. Cas.* 3.34 to *Chron. Cas.* 4.95. This extended the narrative up to 1127, the beginning of the abbacy of Seniorectus. It was Peter the Deacon, commissioned in 1140 by Abbot Raynald II to see the work through to completion, who was responsible for the remainder. Peter reworked Guido's contribution, although how extensively is not entirely clear, at the same time suppressing Guido's name and claiming all of his work as his own. He was also responsible for some additions to and alterations of Leo's text. Leo's work went through three recensions. Hoffmann's edition gives the first, which extends to *Chron. Cas.* 2.92, and the third, which extends to *Chron. Cas.* 3.33. The second, which also extends to *Chron. Cas.* 3.33, survives only in the form in which Peter the Deacon left it. When Peter took up the work in 1140, it was a manuscript of Leo's second recension that he used, appending to it the continuations that he and Guido had written. The third-recension text was no longer available at Montecassino, having been taken to Stablo three years earlier. This second-recension text, as amended by Peter the Deacon, survives in a unique exemplar from which all other witnesses are derived: Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 450, to which Hoffmann assigns the siglum C. Hence Peter the Deacon's interventions in the portion of the Chronicle written by Leo can be recovered from Hoffmann's apparatus. The possibility of his influence is indicated whenever C stands alone, and especially when it stands alone against both the first and the third recensions.[8]

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[6] See Hartmut Hoffmann, "Studien zur Chronik von Montecassino," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 29 (1973): 59–162, as well as Hoffmann's introduction to *Die Chronik von Montecassino*. See also Anna Maria Fagnoni, "Un cronista medievale al lavoro: Leone Ostiense e la prima redazione della Cronaca Cassinese. Problemi di analisi," *Scripta Philologica* 2 (1980): 51–129, and "Storia di un testo: La Cronaca di Montecassino," *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser., 25 (1984): 813–32; and Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 1:113–17.

[7] Hoffmann also maintains, however, that much of *Chron. Cas.* 4.9 was written by Leo but inserted in the Chronicle by his continuator (see *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, 608). *Chron. Cas.* 4.11 is a special case as well, containing, as Paul Meyvaert first suggested, the remains of Leo's lost *Historia peregrinorum* (ibid., xxviii–xxx).

[8] Fagnoni, "Storia di un testo," 831, points to the possibility of additions or other changes introduced in the second recension by Leo himself but not preserved in his final redaction. Although each case has to be judged on its own merits, a lengthy addition, especially one that

One of the major sources employed both by Leo and by his continuators were the *Dialogi de miraculis sancti Benedicti* of Abbot Desiderius.[9] Indeed, by Anna Maria Fagnoni's estimate more than one-third of their contents was incorporated into the Chronicle.[10] Modelled on the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, the Desiderian *Dialogues* were originally intended to have four books. Books one and two were to deal with miracles that had occurred at Montecassino or its dependencies, books three and four with miracles elsewhere.[11] Although Desiderius began compiling material for the work early in his abbacy, in the early 1060s, he put it to one side in 1079 or 1080 without ever completing it, and so the text as we have it breaks off abruptly in book three.[12] The portions that he did complete, however, focused as they were on Montecassino and other monastic houses in its possession, provided a rich mine of information for Leo and his continuators. It was a kind of information with which Leo was well familiar. An accomplished hagiographer in his own right, Leo compiled a similar collection of *miracula,* albeit a much more modest one than that of his beloved abbot.[13]

does not conform to Leo's usual stylistic practice, is more likely to have been supplied by Peter than inserted and then dropped by Leo. Both Fagnoni and Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Montecassino,* xxi, mention the possibility of Guido being responsible for interpolations of this sort. While the possibility cannot be dismissed, presumably their placement in the second-recension text is due to Peter.

[9] *Dialogi de miraculis sancti Benedicti auctore Desiderio abbate Casinensi* [*Dial.*], ed. G. Schwartz and A. Hofmeister, MGH Scriptores 30.2 (Leipzig, 1934), 1111–51.

[10] Anna Maria Fagnoni, "I *Dialogi* di Desiderio nella *Chronica monasterii Casinensis,*" in *L'età dell'abate Desiderio* 3.1: *Storia arte e cultura,* ed. Faustino Avagliano and Oronzo Pecere, Miscellanea Cassinese 67 (Montecassino, 1992 [1995]), 235–64 at 236; see also 239–40, where Fagnoni points out that more than a third of the miracles related by Leo of Ostia, and about a quarter of those included by Guido and Peter the Deacon, come from the *Dialogues.* Fagnoni's essay first appeared in *Studi Medievali,* 3d ser., 34 (1993): 65–94.

[11] See Desiderius's statements at *Dial.,* Prol., 2 Prol., and 3 Prol. (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1117, 1127 and 1141).

[12] See Wm. D. McCready, "Dating the *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino," *Revue Bénédictine* 108 (1998): 145–68, and "The Incomplete *Dialogues* of Desiderius of Montecassino," *Analecta Bollandiana* 116 (1998): 115–46.

[13] Leo authored a trilogy on Pope St. Clement. It includes his *De origine beati Clementis* (ed. Ioannes Orlandi, *Excerpta ex Clementinis Recognitionibus a Tyrannio Rufino translatis* [Milan, 1968]) and his *Translatio sancti Clementis* (ed. Paul Meyvaert and Paul Devos, "Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la «Légende Italique» résolues grâce à un document inédit," *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 [1955]: 375–461 at 412–13 [prologue] and 455–61 [text]). The second part of the trilogy, Leo's *Sermo de ordinatione seu cathedra sancti Clementis papae,* survives only in fragmentary form; see Paul Meyvaert and Paul Devos, "Autour de Léon d'Ostie et de sa *Translatio S. Clementis* (Légende Italique des SS. Cyrille et Méthode)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 74 (1956): 189–240 at 225–26. Leo also authored a number of works on St. Mennas, including his *Vita sancti Mennatis* (ed. Giovanni Orlandi, "Vita sancti Mennatis [opera inedita di Leone Marsicano]," *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti [Lettere]* 97 [1963]:

Leo does not include Desiderius's *Dialogues* among the sources listed in the dedicatory letter to Oderisius,[14] but little significance should be attached to that fact. Leo's intent at this juncture is to offer a few key examples only, not a complete accounting of the texts on which he has drawn.[15] Apart from occasional echoes,[16] Leo generally does not cite Desiderius verbally either. Unlike Peter the Deacon, who inserts extensive verbatim transcripts of the *Dialogues* into the Chronicle, Leo's preferred practice is to recast the contents of Desiderius's work in his own words. There can be little doubt, however, that he employed the *Dialogues* directly,[17] even though for some of their stories, as we shall see below, alternative sources were available to him. The *Dialogues* were the work of a man whom Leo treats as a hero in his portion of the Chronicle. Desiderius is accorded the status of a *fundator* or *constructor* of the monastery, a distinction shared only with St. Benedict, who established Montecassino in the sixth century, and with Abbots Petronax (718–749/50) and Aligern (948/50–985), who restored it after its destruction by the Lombards and Saracens respectively.[18] Indeed, the extensive rebuilding programme undertaken during Desiderius's abbacy, especially the construction of the magnificent new basilica, elevated him, in Leo's mind, to a position second only to St. Benedict himself. He was a new Solomon, to whose reign, unlike that of any other abbot of Montecassino, Leo planned from the outset to devote an entire book (book three) of the Chronicle.[19] Leo also speaks in personal terms of the great affection with which Desiderius received him at Montecassino when he was just a boy of fourteen, and of the interest that Desiderius took in his education and development.[20] It was Desiderius who appointed him to the important post of

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467–90 at 478–90), which is based on Gregory the Great's brief account at *Dialogues* 3.26.1–6 (ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 260 [Paris, 1979], 366–70), and his *Translatio sancti Mennatis* (ed. Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Translations et miracles de S. Mennas par Léon d'Ostie et Pierre du Mont Cassin," *Analecta Bollandiana* 62 [1944]: 5–32 at 15–28). Both texts are found in Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 413, where a second hand has recorded some revisions and additions. These include a second translation inserted towards the end of the first one, and a separate collection of *Miracula sancti Mennatis* (ed. de Gaiffier, 28–32). De Gaiffier attributes both the corrections and the additional material to Peter the Deacon, and is supported in this by Orlandi, "Vita sancti Mennatis," 470. Meyvaert and Hoffmann, however, argue persuasively for the authorship of Leo himself (Meyvaert and Devos, "Autour de Léon d'Ostie," 216; Hoffmann, "Studien," 131–36).

[14] *Chron. Cas.,* Epist. Leonis (ed. Hoffmann, 7–8).

[15] Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, xiii.

[16] See, for example, n. 86 below.

[17] See, for example, below at n. 36.

[18] *Chron. Cas.,* 3 Prol. (ed. Hoffmann, 362); Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 242–47 and 281–97.

[19] *Chron. Cas.,* Epist. Leonis (ed. Hoffmann, 8–9).

[20] Ibid., 3 Prol. (ed. Hoffmann, 362).

librarian of the abbey, a position that he retained under Oderisius I; and it was while the library was under Leo's direction that a magnificent display copy of Desiderius's unfinished work was produced in the scriptorium of Montecassino itself.[21] That Leo would have known Desiderius's work intimately goes without saying.

The purpose of this essay is to extend the inquiry into Leo's use of the *Dialogues* pursued most recently by Fagnoni. It narrows the focus to concentrate on Leo himself, dealing with his continuators only to the extent necessary to clarify Leo's position. The point, moreover, is not so much to study the *Dialogues* as a specific source for Leo's portion of the Chronicle—although it does have something to say on that issue—as to examine the degree to which Leo was prepared to endorse them. The relationship between the *Dialogues* and Leo's work provides an excellent opportunity to assess how an informed eleventh-century scholar and historian read narratives that from a modern perspective are often problematic. Hence, what did Leo make of this collection of miracle stories? What kind of credibility was he prepared to accord to it? What degree of confidence did he have in the narratives that it contained? The central argument is that Leo viewed the *Dialogues* as a text appropriately judged by the standards of factual veracity. While having their own distinct purposes, the *Dialogues* could also be expected to be an historical account.[22] The truth value to be assigned to them did not reside exclusively in a higher, moral realm

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[21] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 1203, the work of "a master hand," as Francis Newton describes it; see *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge, 1999), 67.

[22] Leo commits himself to strict factual veracity not only in the Chronicle but in both his *Vita sancti Mennatis* and his *Miracula sancti Mennatis* as well. Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, Epist. Leonis (ed. Hoffmann, 10); *Vita sancti Mennatis* 5 (ed. Orlandi, 488); and *Miracula sancti Mennatis* 1 (ed. de Gaiffier, 28): "Signa et virtutes mirificas quę per beatissimum patronum nostrum Mennatem in eum, ubi nunc translatus est, locum divina est operari dignatio, fida relatione scribturus, lectorem simul et auditorem meum admoneo ut sine alicuius scrupuli vitio fidem dictis adhibeat, quoniam etsi ipse eis non interfui cum fierent, ab his tamen qui interfuere cum fierent, veridicis plane et honestis personis, ea percepi." The credibility of Leo's claim is enhanced by the fact that at least a couple of the miracles he relates involve people who are identified by name: "Domnus Petrus, prudens atque honestus clericus" (29), and canon of the cathedral at Sant'Agata in the archdiocese of Benevento, where the remains of the saint finally came to rest; and Robert, count of Alife and Caiazzo, who had been responsible for both translations. In the *Vita* Leo offers a rhetorical *amplificatio* of Gregory the Great's account, resisting the temptation to add details of his own invention to fill in *lacunae*. Hence he states candidly that he cannot tell us anything about the origin of Mennas or about his death: "Ortum sane ipsius et obitum, iuxta morem qui in plerisque sanctorum gestis invenitur, iccirco presentibus litteris non inserimus, quia quis vel qualis quove tempore extiterit nusquam reperientes, et mendacium, quod et Deus odit et occidit animam, omnimodis precaventes, incerta pro certis astruere nolumus" (ed. Orlandi, 488).

where, the facts of the matter notwithstanding, they could be employed to address the spiritual needs of the brethren. Whatever a modern reader may be tempted to think, Leo expected the Desiderian *Dialogues* to offer a factually true account of events that actually occurred. Having judged them by that standard, Leo was not disappointed. He was not entirely uncritical, the esteem in which he held Desiderius notwithstanding, but he had a high degree of confidence in Desiderius's work nonetheless. It was this that enabled him to draw from the *Dialogues* as extensively as he did in his history of the monastery.

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Given the distinctive focus of book three of the *Dialogues*, it is unsurprising that none of the miracles recorded there was privileged for inclusion in the Chronicle. Of the fourteen miracles at issue, four are miracles of Pope Leo IX;[23] another four are miracles of Offa, abbess "in monasterio beati Petri apostoli intra Beneventanam urbem posito";[24] and three are miracles of Alferius, abbot of Santissima Trinità at La Cava.[25] Two additional miracles are credited respectively to Hildebrand, subdeacon of the Roman church and the future Pope Gregory VII, and to an unidentified monk in the monastery of Santa Sophia in Benevento.[26] The remaining miracle focuses on the person of Pietro Mezzabarba, the simoniacal bishop of Florence, whose guilt is divinely confirmed.[27] None of this has any bearing, direct or indirect, on the history of Montecassino. The miracles in Desiderius's first two books, however, are another matter entirely. Hence fifteen of the miracles there related are incorporated in Leo's portion of the Chronicle,[28] in every case but one the Desiderian

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[23] *Dial.* 3.1–3 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1143–46).

[24] Ibid. 3.9–11 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1149–50). The text quoted is at *Dial.* 3.9 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1149). On the monastery, see P. F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia,* vol. 9 (Berlin, 1962), 101.

[25] *Dial.* 3.6–8 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1149).

[26] Ibid. 3.5 and 3.12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1148–49 and 1150–51).

[27] Ibid. 3.4 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1146–48).

[28] For these fifteen miracles, see *Dial.* 1.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1118) and *Chron. Cas.* 1.19 (ed. Hoffmann, 63); *Dial.* 1.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1118–19) and *Chron. Cas.* 1.27 (ed. Hoffmann, 76–81); *Dial.* 1.3 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1119–20) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (ed. Hoffmann, 343); *Dial.* 1.4 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (ed. Hoffmann, 343–44); *Dial.* 1.5 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (ed. Hoffmann, 344); *Dial.* 1.9 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1122–24) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.63 (ed. Hoffmann, 288–93); *Dial.* 1.10 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.80 (ed. Hoffmann, 326–27); the second of two stories in *Dial.* 2.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.22 (ed. Hoffmann, 206–7); *Dial.* 2.6 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1130) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.34 (ed. Hoffmann, 230–34); *Dial.* 2.10

account being enhanced by additional points of detail.[29]

Sometimes it is extra background on the individuals involved that Leo provides. Such is the case, for example, when he relates one of Desiderius's stories about Abbot John III (997–1010).[30] Desiderius tells us that John was the scion of a noble family, that prior to his conversion to the monastic life he had been archdeacon at Benevento, and that he had travelled to the Holy Land, where he had spent six years *in Dei servitio* on Mount Sinai, followed by a period of time at one of the monasteries on Mount Athos. Leo includes all of this, in words that seem to echo Desiderius. He also tells us, however, that John was a native of Benevento, that it was in the time of Abbot Aligern that he embraced the monastic life at Montecassino, and that it was during the abbacy of Manso (985–96)[31] that he first travelled to the East.[32] Sometimes the additional infor-

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(ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131–32) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.55 (ed. Hoffmann, 270–71); *Dial.* 2.11 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1132) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.21 (ed. Hoffmann, 205); *Dial.* 2.12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1132–33) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.64 (ed. Hoffmann, 293–94); *Dial.* 2.13 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1133–34) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.60 (ed. Hoffmann, 284–85); *Dial.* 2.22 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138–39) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.71–72 (ed. Hoffmann, 309–14); *Dial.* 2.25 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.49 (ed. Hoffmann, 259–60). Fagnoni, "I Dialogi," 237, states that the number is seventeen, largely as a result of a different way of reckoning. On the one hand she excludes *Dial.* 1.9, perhaps because it could be read as a piece of providential history and not a miracle at all. On the other she treats *Dial.* 1.2 not as one miraculous narrative, as we have, but as three separate miracles. The one substantive difference concerns *Dial.* 3.3 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1145–46). Fagnoni includes this in her total, pointing out that Leo appears to draw on this chapter of the *Dialogues* at *Chron. Cas.* 2.84 (ed. Hoffmann, 333). In fact, however, Leo simply repeats the observation that many miracles occurred at the tomb of Pope Leo IX. He does not include either of the miracles that Desiderius relates at this point.

[29] The one exception is a miracle concerning Abbot Apollinaris (818–28; Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 253–54) that occurs at *Dial.* 1.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1118). Leo's paraphrased version—*Chron. Cas.* 1.19 (ed. Hoffmann, 63)—adds nothing significant to Desiderius's account. The sum total of Leo's knowledge of the abbacy of Apollinaris, to which he devotes *Chron. Cas.* 1.19–21 (ed. Hoffmann, 63–67), is slight.

[30] See Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 300–303. Desiderius relates three stories of Abbot John III, one at *Dial.* 2.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1127–28) and two at *Dial.* 2.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128). Leo includes the second of the latter two miracles at *Chron. Cas.* 2.22 (ed. Hoffmann, 206–7).

[31] Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 297–300.

[32] For comparable cases, cf. *Dial.* 1.3–5 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (at n. 33 below), where Leo provides additional information about John, *praepositus* of San Giorgio in Lucca; as well as *Dial.* 2.6 and *Chron Cas.* 2.34 (at n. 47 below), where Leo's account of the wondrous death of the monk Azo is accompanied by additional biographical details. The chapter that Leo devotes to the miracle that marked the passing of Abbot John II (996–97; "Die älteren Abtslisten," 400) does not supplement Desiderius's account in a similar way. Cf. *Dial.* 2.11 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1132) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.21 (ed. Hoffmann, 205). The context in which it is embedded, however, both enriches and in part qualifies Desiderius's portrait of

mation that Leo provides clarifies the date of the miracles in question, or the circumstances under which they occurred. This is the case, for example, with regard to the three miracles performed by John, *praepositus* of San Giorgio in Lucca.[33] Desiderius tells us that this monastery was a dependency of Monte-cassino, and that John was the Cassinese monk appointed as prior at the time of its foundation. Leo adds that this happened during the reign of Abbot Peter (1055–57),[34] a detail that provides a *terminus post quem* for the three miracles in question. The last of these miracles involves Pope Alexander II (1061–73). Once, we are told, he was cured of a fever and the accompanying weakness by drinking water with which John had rinsed his hands after celebrating Mass. Although Desiderius heard the story from Alexander himself, he leaves its date unclear. Leo's account settles the matter. Leo identifies Bishop Anselm of Lucca as the beneficiary of the cure, indicating that it occurred before his elevation to the papal throne as Alexander II. The miracle is to be dated, therefore, to the period 1055–61.[35] Leo also adds one other detail worthy of note: the fact that Bishop Anselm often used to tell the story of this cure. The implication is clear. Leo was able to be more precise than Desiderius about the date of this miracle because he was not entirely dependent upon the *Dialogues*. Un-

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Abbot John. Desiderius tells us that John had resigned his abbacy because of the infirmities of old age, withdrawing into the neighbouring forest and embracing the life of a hermit (*Dial.* 2.2 and 2.11 [ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128 and 1132]). Leo adds that he was accompanied by five other brethren, and that he withdrew "in locum, qui hodieque Piretum appellatur," where he built a small church in honour of Saints Cosmas and Damian (*Chron. Cas.* 2.20 [ed. Hoffmann, 203–4]). He offers the same reason for the resignation as Desiderius, the official explanation, as Sansterre would have it: "et infirmitate simul et etate impediebatur" (ibid. 2.22 [ed. Hoffmann, 207, CDMS text]; cf. 2.20 [ed. Hoffmann, 203]); see Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Recherches sur les ermites du Mont-Cassin et l'érémitisme dans l'hagiographie cassinienne," *Hagiographica* 2 (1995): 57–92 at 83. However, he also includes what he heard from an unidentified old man: that the decision was prompted by a disastrous military expedition against the fortress (*municipium*) of Pignataro, a rebellious Cassinese possession. The attack went tragically wrong when a church and several peasant cottages were destroyed by fire, and in his grief over this outcome Abbot John resigned (*Chron. Cas.* 2.20 [ed. Hoffmann, 204]). On Pignataro (Pignataro Interamna, prov. Frosinone), see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:175, no. 6; and G. A. Loud, "The Liri Valley in the Middle Ages," in *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Liri Valley, Central Italy, under the direction of Edith Mary Wightman*, ed. J. W. Hayes and I. P. Martini, BAR International Series 595 (Oxford, 1994), 53–68 at 56.

   [33] *Dial.* 1.3–5 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1119–20); *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (ed. Hoffmann, 343–44). On the monastery, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:428–36, no. 161.

   [34] Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 317–19.

   [35] For other cases where Leo helps with the date of the miracle(s) in question, cf. *Dial.* 1.2 and *Chron. Cas.* 1.27 (at n. 68 below); *Dial.* 1.9 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.63 (at n. 41 below); *Dial.* 1.10 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.80 (at n. 37 below); *Dial.* 2.12 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.64 (at n. 69 below); *Dial.* 2.13 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.60 (at n. 52 below); *Dial.* 2.22 and *Chron. Cas.* 2.71–72 (at n. 53 below).

doubtedly, the *Dialogues* were his principal source. He tells the same three stories about prior John as does Desiderius, and he relates them in the same order. The third and final miracle story, however, was also one that he had heard elsewhere.[36]

There are several other points where Leo indicates the existence of independent sources confirming the Desiderian account. At *Dial.* 1.10, for example, Desiderius narrates the story of an unsuccessful attempt by a group of Capuan knights to capture the *castellum* of Conca, a Cassinese possession near Venafro (Molise). The knights set out in darkness, in order to be able to take the stronghold by surprise at daybreak. When morning arrived, however, they discovered, to their great astonishment, that they had been travelling in circles all night, and withdrew in confusion. Here Leo supplements Desiderius's narrative by drawing on the eyewitness testimony of a member of the raiding party.[37] At *Dial.* 2.25 Desiderius includes a story about the monk Adam, *custos* of Montecassino. One day, as he was leaving the monastery on some official business, Adam was astonished to meet the martyrs Protus and Iacinthus, coming, they explained, to visit the brethren on the anniversary of their martyrdom. Desiderius learned of the incident in Rome, his source being Leo, abbot of San Paolo fuori le Mura. Firmus, a senior monk of Montecassino and Adam's nephew, confirmed it for him on his return to Montecassino.[38] Leo of Ostia repeats the story in his own language, with what appear to be a few verbal echoes of Desiderius. He too attributes the story to Abbot Leo, the source of

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[36] After telling the three stories, Leo mentions additional miracles that he could have included: "Multa etiam alia de virtutibus predicti Dei famuli referuntur, sed non sunt neque temporis neque codicis huius" (*Chron. Cas.* 2.90 [ed. Hoffmann, 344]). Desiderius confirms the point: "De mirabilibus vero, quae per eum divina maiestas operari dignata est, quia plura a memoria lapsa sunt, quae recolo, pauca narrabo" (*Dial.* 1.3 [ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120]). However, whereas Desiderius related the few miracles he was able to recall, Leo made a selection. Of the larger number that had evidently come to his attention, he chose to include the three miracles recorded in the *Dialogues*.

[37] *Dial.* 1.10 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124); *Chron. Cas.* 2.80 (ed. Hoffmann, 326–27). Leo introduces the miraculous part of the story by stating: "Res mira, sed omnino certissima, quippe que ab uno eorum, qui tanto equitatui interfuit, michi relata est" (327). On Conca, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 2:876–77, no. 547. It is described as a *castellum* by Desiderius, a *castrum* by Leo. In each case the language suggests a fortified settlement. See G. A. Loud, "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: the Campania during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996): 313–43 at 320.

[38] *Dial.* 2.25 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140). On Adam, *custos ecclesiae*, and Firmus, *oeconomus* under Abbot Desiderius, see Newton, *Scriptorium and Library*, 29, 220, 255, 291. Both appear in the calendar of Leo of Ostia: Adam appears in the entry for August 26 (see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Der Kalender des Leo Marsicanus," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 21 [1965]: 82–149 at 116, 128, 128 n. 2), Firmus in the entry for April 25 (ibid., 108, 134, 134 n. 43).

the Desiderian account.[39] In all probability he is simply following Desiderius at this juncture. That Leo of Ostia himself heard the story from Abbot Leo is unlikely. Be this as it may, however, in the immediately preceding chapter of the Chronicle he does reinforce the status of Abbot Leo as a source of information about the monk Adam. On the authority of another Cassinese monk named Roffridus, Leo of Ostia there relates two other stories about Adam, stories involving visions of St. Benedict.[40] He explains that Adam had confided these incidents to Abbot Leo when he was in Rome on the monastery's business. Out of humility Adam had concealed them from others, so that during his lifetime they were unknown at Montecassino. After Adam's death, however, Abbot Leo was free to inform a number of the brethren, among them the above-mentioned Roffridus. Abbot Leo, therefore, told Desiderius the one story about Adam that Desiderius includes in the *Dialogues*. Whether he also informed Roffridus of that particular story is uncertain, but he clearly did inform him of a couple of others, and Roffridus passed them on to Leo of Ostia. Their inclusion in the Chronicle, and Leo of Ostia's explanation of how they came to his attention, provide confirmation for the Desiderian account.

Unsurprisingly, in view of the additional sources at his disposal, on a few occasions Leo is able to make minor corrections to the narrative of the *Dialogues*. In *Dial.* 1.9 Desiderius tells how God inspired Conrad II to descend into Italy to deliver Montecassino from the depredations of Pandulf IV, prince of Capua.[41] When he arrived in Italy, Conrad sent legates to deliver an ultimatum to Pandulf, but the prince remained unmoved, God having hardened his heart. The emperor, therefore, proceeded to Montecassino, where he received the blessing of the monks, and then marched against Pandulf in Capua, securing a quick victory when Pandulf's supporters fled. He entered the city triumphantly, stripped Pandulf of his authority, and within the space of one day restored to the monastery all the possessions of which it had been deprived, Pandulf's holdings being reduced to one mountain citadel in which he had taken refuge.[42] In Desiderius's judgment the story represents a clear heavenly vindi-

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[39] *Chron. Cas.* 2.49 (ed. Hoffmann, 259–60). He introduces the story as follows: "Aliud etiam quiddam mirificum hic idem Leo referebat ex ipsius nostri Adam veridico sibi ore relatum" (CDMS text).

[40] See ibid. 2.48 (ed. Hoffmann, 256–59). Roffridus appears in Leo's calendar in the entry for October 27; see Hoffmann, "Der Kalender," 121, 145 and n. 115.

[41] *Dial.* 1.9 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1122–24). See Harry Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–84), 2:305–13; and Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, 2 vols. (1904; rpt. New York, 1960), 2:444–47.

[42] Desiderius describes it as an *arx* located "in monte, qui Sanctae Agathae martyris dicitur" (*Dial.* 1.9 [ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1123]). This is the modern Monte Tifata, east of Capua; see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:32 n. 2.

cation of the Cassinese cause achieved through the merits of St. Benedict. Although Leo's account is longer and more detailed, among other things being precisely dated to the year 1038, it is basically consistent with the Desiderian version, and is written from the same point of view.[43] Leo too sees the emperor's intervention as ordained by Providence for Montecassino's benefit. There is, however, a significant difference at the beginning of the story, one directly attributable to supplementary information that Leo provides. Whereas Desiderius suggests that it was Conrad's conscious purpose from the outset to come to the rescue of Montecassino, Leo implies that the emperor formed this intent only later when, having crossed the Alps, he met the representatives of the monastery in Milan and received their plea for assistance. Desiderius omits all mention of this incident.[44] There is also a significant difference of tone that is especially evident towards the end of Leo's account. Leo presents the same essential facts as Desiderius: that God hardened Pandulf's heart, that Pandulf was forced to take refuge in his mountain stronghold, the *rocca sancte Agathe*, and that he was replaced as prince of Capua by Guaimar IV of Salerno. But there is nothing about the monastery's possessions being restored, although that perhaps is implied; and the story as a whole lacks the triumphal conclusion that it has in the Desiderian version. Indeed, for an instrument of Providence the emperor appears rather less than glorious. According to Leo, Pandulf offered him a large sum of money ("trecentas auri optimi libras pollicens se daturum") to purchase his good will, half of it immediately, half of it to follow; and the emperor agreed, although Pandulf ultimately reneged on his pledge.[45] The emperor withdrew; and within less than a year, Leo tells us, he had died.

Similar corrections accompany Leo's account of the incident recorded at *Dial.* 2.6, the story of the wondrous death of a Cassinese monk named Azo.

[43] See *Chron. Cas.* 2.63 (ed. Hoffmann, 288–93).

[44] Cf. Peter the Deacon, *Ortus et vita iustorum cenobii Casinensis* 30 (ed. R. H. Rodgers [Berkeley, 1972], 58–59). Peter knows from Leo's account, which he quotes verbatim, that the emperor received the representatives of Montecassino at Milan. However, guided by his reading of Desiderius, and taking advantage of Leo's suggestion that the same Cassinese emissaries had earlier travelled to Germany in an effort to get the ear of the emperor, he rearranges Leo's words to have Conrad receive the Cassinese party before he set out: "Set *cum iam omnipotens Deus tantis direptionibus decreuisset finem imponere,* Casinensis cenobii fratres *ultra montes* ad imperatorem pergentes, *que mala a Pandulfo pertulerant retulerunt, orantes ut* ad Ytaliam *dignaretur uenire, ac* Casinense cenobium, quod caput omnium monasteriorum a Domino Iesu Christo per beatum Benedictum statutum fuerat, *quod* omnes inperatores *sub sua tutela reuerenter nimis abuerant, de* seuissimi *tiranni manibus potenter erueret.*" Peter has added "ad Ytaliam" to modify the sense of Leo's words.

[45] Following the German sources, Bresslau, *Jahrbücher* 2:307–8, suggests that these events occurred earlier and had somewhat different implications. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale* 2:444–45, prefers the Cassinese version. For the text quoted, see *Chron. Cas.* 2.63 (ed. Hoffmann, 292, A text).

Desiderius tells us that Azo had been commissioned by his abbot to rebuild the church of Sant'Angelo di Barrea,[46] which had been destroyed by the Saracens. After reestablishing the monastic community there, he returned to spend his final days at Montecassino. While several brethren were gathered around his death bed in the infirmary, a young brother asleep in the dormitory at the time had a vision of St. Michael, who told him he had come to claim Azo's soul. When he awakened and hurried to the infirmary, he discovered that Azo had died.[47] Leo's expanded account does not add significantly to the story of the miracle itself, although he does identify the unnamed monk who had the vision, claiming to have known him personally.[48] He does, however, provide added detail about both Azo and the monastery that he rebuilt. This includes the information that it was Abbot Atenulf (1011–22) who assigned Azo the task, and that Azo was *praepositus* of San Benedetto dei Marsi at the time.[49] He also corrects Desiderius on two points. First of all, he omits Desiderius's reference to the monastery having originally been built by the emperor Louis II. Leo knew this could not have been the case, for Louis issued a privilege in its favour confirming earlier privileges of Charlemagne and Lothar I.[50] Second, he

[46] See Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:369–75, no. 124.

[47] *Dial.* 2.6 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1130).

[48] See *Chron. Cas.* 2.34 (ed. Hoffmann, 230–34). Desiderius refers simply to "quidam . . . frater, qui adhuc superest et nobiscum in monasterio conversatur, tunc iuvenis, nunc autem aetate moribusque grandaevus." Leo refers to "quidam frater Petrus nomine eo quidem tempore iuvenis, nostra vero etate, qua illum in hoc loco adhuc viventem repperimus, annis simul moribusque grandevus" (233). Hoffmann's apparatus does not record any variant on "Petrus" in the second recension text appropriated by Peter the Deacon. Hence there is no suggestion that in his reworking of the Chronicle Peter had any reservations about the name. It is surprising, therefore, that in the abbreviated version of the same miracle that he inserts at *Ortus et vita* 39 (ed. Rodgers, 67–68) the young monk in question is identified as "Raynardus nomine." Anselmo Lentini ("Alberico di Montecassino nel quadro della riforma gregoriana," in *Medioevo letterario cassinese: Scritti vari,* ed. Faustino Avagliano, Miscellanea Cassinese 57 [Montecassino, 1988], 45–108 at 54 n. 56) suggests a misunderstanding on Peter's part. Because they are described in similar terms, Lentini argues, Peter has mistakenly identified the unnamed young monk of *Dial.* 2.6 with the monk Rainerius of *Dial.* 2.23, compounding his error by transforming "Rainerius" into "Rainaldus" (Lentini refers to "Rainaldus" rather than "Raynardus" because he uses the Migne text of the *Ortus et vita;* see PL 173:1103A). This is not entirely implausible. However, another possibility needs to be considered as well. It is noteworthy that in the first recension of *Chron. Cas.* 2.34 "Petrus" is written over "Mainardus." Although it is difficult to see how, could Peter's "Raynardus" be an echo of Leo's original "Mainardus"? As Rodgers notes (p. 153), Raynardus was not a popular name at Montecassino. Only one monk so named appears in Leo's calendar. For Mainardus, however, there are at least two entries; see Hoffmann, "Der Kalender," 141 and 145.

[49] See Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 304–6; and Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:337–38, no. 106.

[50] See *Chron. Cas.* 1.37 (ed. Hoffmann, 103–4). The point has been noted by Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1130 n. 3, and by Fagnoni, "I *Dialogi*," 246 n. 55.

quietly corrects Desiderius on the matter of the monastery's having been destroyed by the Saracens. Leo explains that the Saracens had been defeated and were in retreat when they took refuge in the monastery because of the high ground it commanded and because of its defensive works. It was not the Saracens who destroyed it but those who were pursuing them, and the Saracens perished along with it.[51]

Corrections of this sort are exactly what one would expect of an historian with more sources of information, both documentary and oral, at his disposal than Desiderius had. Without challenging the integrity of Desiderius's account, they set the record straight on some important matters of detail.[52] In the case of Desiderius's account of the circumstances leading up to the Normans' surrender of the fortress (*arx*) of Sant'Andrea, however, it is a major correction that Leo provides.[53] Desiderius introduces this story by telling us of the settlement of the Normans on Cassinese property during the abbacy of Atenulf (1011–22), and of their being employed in the monastery's defence. Although this arrangement worked satisfactorily enough through the abbacies of Theobald (1022–35) and Basil (1034/36–1038),[54] thereafter the Normans became a major threat, depriving Montecassino of most of its properties. Of the monastery's once sizable holdings, Desiderius tells us, nothing remained except the town of San Germano at the base of the mountain, and four or five *villae* with their associated fields. Just when the community's fortunes seemed bleakest, however, St. Benedict appeared to a peasant farmer in the Cassinese family and indicated that he would deliver them from their oppressors. That very year, Desiderius goes on to say, without identifying the year in question, the Normans seized the fortress of Sant'Andrea and then proceeded to attack San Germano. Repulsed by the townsfolk, they took refuge in the aforementioned fortress, to which the men of St. Benedict, assisted by their neighbours, laid siege. It was a heaven-sent sign that ultimately led the Normans to surrender to Abbot Richer (1038–55)[55] and his brethren. They recognized that all was lost when their own spears were caught by the wind and turned back upon them.

Leo provides a longer account than Desiderius, one including several additional details. He dates this great Cassinese victory precisely to the year 1045;

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[51] Cf. Peter the Deacon, *Ortus et vita* 39 (ed. Rodgers, 67). Despite the fact that he draws verbally on both Desiderius and Leo in this chapter, Peter repeats Desiderius's error.

[52] For additional examples, cf. *Dial.* 2.10 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131–32) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.55 (ed. Hoffmann, 270–71); *Dial.* 2.13 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1133–34) and *Chron. Cas.* 2.60 (ed. Hoffmann, 284–85).

[53] *Dial.* 2.22 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138–39); *Chron. Cas.* 2.71–72 (ed. Hoffmann, 309–14). On Sant'Andrea, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:180, no. 13.

[54] Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 306–11 and 311–13.

[55] Ibid., 313–16.

he identifies some of the allies who joined the men of St. Benedict for the siege of Sant'Andrea;[56] he tells us that the taking of the fortress was preceded by the capture of the *oppidum S. Victoris;*[57] and he indicates that the final assault occurred after a siege of about fifteen days. He also corrects Desiderius in a couple of respects. Desiderius speaks of an initial Norman *capture* of the fortress of Sant'Andrea, but this seems unlikely, given his description of the state of Montecassino's properties at the time. Leo refers instead to their *fortifying* Sant'Andrea over the protests of Abbot Richer.[58] Even more importantly, whereas Desiderius suggests a subsequent Norman attack on San Germano, Leo describes something quite different. The Desiderian account reads as follows:

> That same year the above-mentioned Norman forces, swelling up even more than usual in their haughtiness and presumption, to our great misfortune seized the fortress of Sant'Andrea so that they might more securely hold fast the possessions of which we had been deprived. This inspired them with dreams of dominion, and brought us to the point of despair. One day, therefore, having become masters of the same fortress, they proudly entered the aforementioned city of San Germano in a mass. There they were overwhelmed by the people of the city, and by the divine will not a few of them were slain or captured.[59]

Having taken Sant'Andrea, Desiderius tells us, the Normans hoped to complete their domination of Montecassino. If their parading into San Germano in a show of force did not constitute an actual attack, it was at least a clear threat.[60] As Leo describes it, however, the situation was not so straightforward. After

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[56] *Chron. Cas.* 2.71 (ed. Hoffmann, 310): "comites Marsorum et filios Borrelli ceterosque monasterii fideles in auxilium advocant." On the *filii Borrelli,* see H. Enzensberger, "Borrello," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 12:815–17.

[57] Now San Vittore del Lazio (prov. Frosinone). See Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:194, no. 29.

[58] In the mid-1040s Abbot Richer ordered the *incastellamento* of the abbey's lands as a defensive measure against the Normans. However, the *villa* of Sant'Andrea, as Leo suggests, was seized and fortified by the Normans themselves. In the process the settlement was also moved about a kilometer to a more easily defensible site; see Loud, "Liri Valley," 57–58, and "Continuity and Change," 320.

[59] *Dial.* 2.22 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1139): "Eodem itaque anno praefata cohors Normannica amplius, quam solebat, per audaciam insolescens ad nostram calamitatem arcem, quae Sancti Andreae nuncupatur, ut securius nobis sublata retinere posset, occupavit. Quae videlicet res illorum animum ad dominationem, nostrum ad desperationem adduxit. Postquam ergo eadem arce potiti sunt, quadam die in unum conglobati, magna cum superbia in praefatam Casini civitatem venientes intraverunt ibique nutu Dei a populo civitatis oppressi aliquanti eorum vel occisi vel capti sunt."

[60] Cf. *Historica relatio de corpore S. Benedicti Casini auctore Petro Diacono Casinensi* 2.22 (*AA SS* Mar. 3 [1668; rpt. Brussels, 1968], 288–97 at 292), where Peter the Deacon offers a similar assessment.

the Normans had fortified Sant'Andrea over his protests, Abbot Richer was despondent. Seeing his position deteriorating in front of the growing Norman strength, he contemplated going into exile. Ultimately he was dissuaded from this, and instead took counsel on what ought to be done. Leo does not tell us of any specific measures on which Richer and his brethren may have decided. We learn only that a few days later a Norman count by the name of Rodulfus, accompanied by a number of knights, came to the *curia* of the abbot in San Germano. Leaving their weapons outside, they entered the church—presumably San Salvatore—to pray,[61] whereupon men of the monastery (*homines monasterii*) seized their horses and weapons, closed the doors of the church behind them, and sounded the alarm. The local inhabitants, frightened by the tumult and thinking that the Normans had come to capture or slay their abbot, ran to the church armed with various kinds of weapons. Fifteen Normans were slain, others managing to escape, the count alone being pulled from the fray by the monks and conveyed to the monastery in custody.

Were it not for the fact that Leo dismisses the possibility, one might be tempted to think that, having consulted with his brethren, Richer had decided to prepare an ambush. On one reading at least, this is what the *Historia Normannorum* of Amatus seems to suggest: it was Richer who invited the Normans to come to San Germano, having already arranged the trap in which they would be killed or captured; and to complete his victory he subsequently drew upon the resources of the abbey to raise the army that would carry out the assault on Sant'Andrea.[62] On the latter point at least Amatus is quite clear. Although he attributes noble motives to the allies who rallied to the monastery's cause, he also acknowledges that the attack on Sant'Andrea was not spontaneous. It was organized by Abbot Richer, who financed the undertaking by breaking up some of the gold and silver plate of the monastery.[63] Whether Amatus also wishes to say that Richer enticed Rodulfus and his men to come to San Germano in the

[61] Luigi Fabiani (*La terra di S. Benedetto*, 3 vols., Miscellanea Cassinese 33, 34, 42 [Montecassino, 1968–80], 1:73, 170) identifies this Rodulfus with the Count of Aversa by the same name. On this matter, however, see Alfonso Gallo, *Aversa normanna* (Naples, 1938), 29–30; and Errico Cuozzo, "Aversa normanna e Montecassino nel secolo IX," in *L'età dell'abate Desiderio* 3.1:109–21 at 113–14. On San Germano and the church of San Salvatore, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:171, no. 1; and 2:684, no. 1.

[62] See Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1995), 81–85 and 98–99. See also Wilhelm Wühr, "Die Wiedergeburt Montecassinos unter seinem ersten Reformabt Richer von Niederaltaich (†1055)," in *Studi Gregoriani*, vol. 3, ed. G. B. Borino (Rome, 1948), 369–450 at 412.

[63] Amatus, *Historia Normannorum* 2.43 (ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino volgarizzata in antico francese*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 76 [Rome, 1935], 109–10).

first place is not as certain. They arrived, he says, as if by the order of the abbot.[64] Possibly it is the arrogance of the Normans that he wishes to highlight, the fact that they marched into town as if they had some right to be there. Whatever the case, Leo of Ostia's view of the matter is unambiguous. Lest we think that there was any connection between Richer's consultation with his brethren and the arrival of Rodulfus and his men, Leo presents the latter as a sudden (*ecce*) and unexpected development. He adopts this view in the first recension of the Chronicle and retains it consistently thereafter. In the third recension he reinforces it by pointing to Providence (*nutu Dei*) to explain the Normans' appearance in San Germano that day.[65] No ambush had been laid for them. As Leo sees it, it was fear that prompted the attack on the Normans, fear that they had come to capture or slay the abbot. Such a view clearly distances him from the more radical possibilities that Amatus might be taken to imply, but his account also provides an important corrective to Desiderius. Desiderius describes either a Norman assault on San Germano or at least a naked show of force designed to intimidate the inhabitants. Even if he thought that the fear their arrival engendered was not completely groundless,[66] Leo points to a much more complex situation.

In this particular case Leo's corrections go beyond tidying up one or two matters of detail. They suggest that Desiderius's basic grasp of the historical situation was defective. However, neither here nor elsewhere in the Chronicle is the miracle that lies at the heart of the Desiderian account brought into question. Conrad II, as we noted above, is not quite so obviously the instrument of divine justice in Leo's version of his campaign against Pandulf IV as he is in Desiderius's.[67] Nonetheless, Leo endorses Desiderius's claim that the emperor's Italian expedition was providential in inspiration, opening with a statement to this effect; and like Desiderius, he has the emperor himself proclaim at Montecassino that his only purpose in marching into southern Italy was to rescue the monastery. Indeed, rather than being compromised in any way, sometimes the miracle is actually enhanced in Leo's version of the story. This is the

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[64] Ibid. 2.42 (ed. de Bartholomaeis, 108): "*autresi comme* par lo commandement de l'Abbé" (emphasis added).

[65] Cf. ibid. (ed. de Bartholomaeis, 108–9), where Amatus adopts a similar perspective: "Laquel cose non dé croire que ce fust sanz la volonté de Dieu. . . ." However, de Bartholomaeis (ibid., n. 4) regards this as an editorial comment inserted in the text by Amatus's translator.

[66] He simply suggests the idea, without developing it. See *Chron. Cas.* 2.71 (ed. Hoffmann, 309): ". . . ecce nutu Dei non post multos dies comes illorum Rodulfus nomine non paucis se militibus comitantibus ad abbatis curiam venit eundem, ut tunc putatum est, abbatem seu capturus seu occisurus, *sed dolor, immo dolus eius conversus est in caput eius*" (CDMS text; emphasis added).

[67] See above, at n. 41.

case in his account of the abortive Saracen attack on Montecassino in 846,[68] in his account of the great fire that once threatened to destroy the entire monastery,[69] and in his treatment of the episode just considered, the events leading up to the capture of Sant'Andrea. In this last case Leo not only accepts but highlights the miracle at the heart of Desiderius's narrative: the divinely orchestrated change of fortune that brought about the Norman surrender when their own weapons rained down upon them. Like Desiderius, he presents it as an astonishing development, underlining its miraculous nature.[70] He repeats in a slightly abbreviated form Desiderius's story of the peasant and his vision of St. Benedict, adding that it took place a few days before the fall of the fortress. More significantly, however, he supplements it with an additional story to enhance the miraculous nature of Benedict's defence of Montecassino.[71] The night before the attack on the fortress a peasant by the name of Jerome dreamed (*videbat in somnis*) that he was returning home on the road that led from the *castrum* of Santa Maria di Mortola.[72] Suddenly he was joined by a monk of venerable appearance who identified himself as Benedict. When they came to a fork in the road, Benedict chose the route that led to the *villa sancti*

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[68] *Dial.* 1.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1118–19); *Chron. Cas.* 1.27 (ed. Hoffmann, 76–81). Desiderius explains that deliverance took the form of two miraculous changes in the weather: one that prevented the *barbari* from crossing the Garigliano river and completing their assault on the monastery, and another that later wrecked their ships as they returned to Sicily. Leo provides some additional information to supplement Desiderius's account, including information derived from Desiderius's source: *Chronica sancti Benedicti Casinensis* 6 (ed. G. Waitz, MGH Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum [Hannover, 1878], 467–89 at 472–73). One consequence is a heightening of the effect of the central miracle. Not only was the sky clear, as Desiderius tells us, before the sudden downpour that made the river impassable, but the river was low enough easily to have been crossed on foot!

[69] *Dial.* 2.12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1132–33); *Chron. Cas.* 2.64 (ed. Hoffmann, 293–94). Desiderius explains that the fire was started by a peasant burning the stubble on his small field. Through the merits of St. Benedict, a small cloud appeared on the side of the mountain. Expanding over the summit, it released sufficient rain to extinguish the flames. Leo provides additional details, some of them evidently from the tradition of the abbey. It is from Damian's account of the same miracle, however, that he derives a detail that enhances the miracle in a significant way. See Peter Damian, *Sermo* 8.3 (ed. Ioannes Lucchesi, CCCM 57 [Turnhout, 1983], 46–47). The cloud appeared in an otherwise azure sky, he states, and so conformed itself to the measure of the monastery than only adjacent properties were drenched by the rain, neighbouring fields remaining completely untouched.

[70] Cf. *Dial.* 2.22 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1139): "Mira dicturus sum"; and *Chron. Cas.* 2.71 (ed. Hoffmann, 311): "Mira dicturus sum, sed absque ulla prorsus cunctatione verissima."

[71] *Chron. Cas.* 2.72 (ed. Hoffmann, 312–13). Leo himself highlights the point by beginning as follows: "Denique ut hec omnia Benedicti patris voluntate et auxilio gesta credantur . . ." (312).

[72] Prov. Caserta; see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:188–89, no. 20.

Andree, explaining that he had business there. Awakened from his dream, Jerome informed his lord, the *archipresbyter* Mainardus; and the very next day the fortress was taken. It was Mainardus, in turn, who informed Leo of the story. Benedict's defence of Montecassino's interests extended even to his personal involvement in the fray. For up to his very time of writing, Leo goes on to say, residents of the fortress survive who claim to have seen a monk fighting manfully against the Normans that day, even though none of the monks then present participated in the battle.

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Leo of Ostia had no reservations about viewing miracles as historical events and including them in the Chronicle, provided that they were based on good authority and were relevant to the history of Montecassino. Since many of the stories in the *Dialogues* of Desiderius were clearly pertinent, Leo was prepared to endorse them and incorporate them into his narrative. They were accounts in which he had a high degree of confidence, his occasional corrections and clarifications notwithstanding. That being the case, it may seem odd that he omits considerably more Desiderian material than he includes.[73] In many cases, however, the explanation seems straightforward. One suspects, for example, that several of the stories not chosen for inclusion in the Chronicle were simply too thin for Leo's purposes. Such would have been the case with the story of the monk Gregory, on whose death the entire monastery was filled with a wonderful fragrance,[74] and with that of the monk Angelus, on whose passing a demoniac disrupted the monastery's kitchen, complaining bitterly of the injustice he

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[73] As previously noted (at n. 28), Leo includes in the Chronicle fifteen of the miracles related in the first two books of the *Dialogues*. Those omitted total twenty-six, in addition to the miracles of book three. See *Dial.* 1.6–7 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120–22), two miracles; *Dial.* 1.8 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1122); *Dial.* 1.11 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124); *Dial.* 1.12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124–25); *Dial.* 1.13 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1125–27); *Dial.* 2.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1127–28); *Dial.* 2.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128), the first of two miracles; *Dial.* 2.3 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128–29); *Dial.* 2.4 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1129); *Dial.* 2.5 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1129–30); *Dial.* 2.7 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1130–31); *Dial.* 2.8 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131); *Dial.* 2.9 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131); *Dial.* 2.14–16 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1134–35), three miracles; *Dial.* 2.17 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1135); *Dial.* 2.18 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1135–37); *Dial.* 2.19 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1137); *Dial.* 2.20 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1137–38); *Dial.* 2.21 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138), three miracles; *Dial.* 2.23 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1139–40); *Dial.* 2.24 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140).

[74] *Dial.* 2.4 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1129).

had suffered on being deprived of the monk's soul by St. Benedict.[75] Judging from Desiderius's description of them, these were monks of conventional piety only, monks who had lived unremarkable lives until the wondrous manner of their passing made them noteworthy for the first time. Hence, apart from the details of their deaths, Desiderius can tell us relatively little about them. Given his principal concern with edification, one can understand why he would have included their stories in the *Dialogues* nonetheless.[76] Their example would have confirmed the hope of other brethren that in their case too a life of faithful service could be rewarded by beatitude. One can see, however, why Leo's judgment would have been different. Leo was not hostile to edification,[77] and there is no reason to believe that he would have doubted the truthfulness of these stories; but edifying miracle stories had to have a certain profile to warrant inclusion in Chronicle. They had to be of major consequence for Montecassino, or at least they had to be credited to people who figured prominently in the history of the abbey. Leo had not been charged to address the spiritual needs of the brethren but to establish a record of the major events in the larger, public life of the monastery.[78]

Several other miracles in the *Dialogues* are of the same general sort, or would have been excluded by Leo for similar reasons.[79] In the case of the monk

[75] Ibid. 2.5 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1129–30).

[76] Desiderius makes his purpose clear at the very outset of the *Dialogues*. See *Dial.*, Prol. (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1116–17): "Quia donante Deo miracula, quae ipse ad laudem sui nominis in hoc Casinensi coenobio fieri voluit, quaeve nostra memoria facta sunt vel a senioribus nostris relata cognovi, scribere disposui, licet omnia nequeam stilo comprehendere, . . . pauca tamen de pluribus *ad aedificationem audientium* mandare curabo memoriae" (emphasis added).

[77] See, for example, *Chron. Cas.* 2.90 (ed. Hoffmann, 343), where he introduces the miracles of John, *praepositus* of San Giorgio in Lucca: "Vir supra cetera bonitatum suarum insignia compunctionis et lacrimarum gratia munero divino ditatus; qui cuius apud Deum meriti fuerit, non debet videri superfluum, si vel breviter ex his, que pro certo nobis comperta sunt, ostendamus."

[78] Cf. Fagnoni, "I *Dialogi*," 237–39, who argues for a distinction between miracles derived from other sources, which Leo uniformly required to contribute to the development of his narrative, and miracles derived from the *Dialogues*, which, out of veneration for his esteemed abbot, he occasionally would regard more indulgently.

[79] *Dial.* 2.7 and 2.10 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1130–31, 1131–32) relate the remarkable deaths of two more otherwise unremarkable brethren. Leo *does* include the second story (see *Chron. Cas.* 2.55 [ed. Hoffmann, 270–71]), but only in the first recension, indicating that he had second thoughts about it. Fagnoni, "I *Dialogi*," 243 n. 38, suggests a concern about the lack of substantiating details, leading Leo to suspect a simple doublet of a story concerning Abbot John II; see n. 32 above. *Dial.* 2.8 and 2.20 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131, 1137–38) relate stories that are different in detail. The first involves a post-mortem miracle performed by one of the brethren, the second a consoling vision of St. Benedict that

Rainerius Desiderius is somewhat better informed; many of the brethren who knew him, he tells us, are still alive.[80] Rainerius was sent by his abbot to the area of Chieti on the monastery's behalf. On the way he was attacked by some brigands under the leadership of a strongman named Oderisius, was robbed, and was slain. Rather than being returned to Montecassino, he was buried in a nearby church, where miracles of healing subsequently occurred. Among the beneficiaries was a count named Atto, son-in-law of the above-mentioned Oderisius, who was cured of a fever.[81] It is clear why this story would have appealed to Desiderius, for it demonstrates how the conventional observance of the Rule could be rewarded by God. In Desiderius's judgment, it particularly commends obedience, a virtue in which Rainerius is thought to have distinguished himself from other monks.[82] In the final analysis, however, the only remarkable thing we know about Rainerius is his death in the monastery's service, a service that is not described in detail. Moreover, although God saw

an elderly monk experienced shortly before his death. They are, however, similar in featuring ordinary monks about whom not much seems to have been known, and on that basis would have been of less interest to Leo than to Desiderius. *Dial.* 1.8 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1122) relates an undisciplined monk's harrowing encounter with a demon, another story appropriate enough for the *Dialogues,* where it could serve to reinforce the discipline of the Rule, but clearly less suitable for the Chronicle.

[80] *Dial.* 2.23 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1139–40).

[81] Desiderius describes him as "Atto comes, magni Attonis comitis filius, praefati quoque Oderisii gener" (ibid., 1140). Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140 n. 1, and Rodgers, 155, suggest the Atto, count of Chieti, mentioned by Amatus at *Historia Normannorum* 7.34 (ed. de Bartholomaeis, 332–34). Amatus does refer to "Un grand home, qui se clamoit Attone" (332) but tells us nothing else about him. The chapter is really about his evil son Trasmundus, who had succeeded him as count by 1054. Herman Müller (*Topographische und genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Herzogtums Spoleto und der Sabina von 800 bis 1100* [Greifswald, 1930], 89–90) argues that the Atto mentioned by Amatus was Atto III, that the Atto of Desiderius's story was actually his son, Atto IV (1046–57), and that the latter's father-in-law—the Oderisius, therefore, who attacked Rainerius—was probably Oderisius II, count of the Marsi. This is the same Oderisius, however, who finished his life as a monk of Montecassino, and was the father of Abbot Oderisius I (1087–1105). See Carmela Vircillo Franklin, "The Restored *Life and Miracles of St. Dominic of Sora* by Alberic of Monte Cassino," *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 285–345 at 305–6; and John Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997), 133–35. His daughter, Gervisa, was the wife of Borrellus II, count of Sangro. See Enzensberger, "Borrello," 815; and Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 2:996 and 3:1500. Atto IV, for his part, is known to have been married to Gaitelgrima, for the salvation of whose soul, and the souls of his parents, Atto III and Gisla, he made provision in a pious gift of December 1053. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:363.

[82] See *Dial.* 2.23 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1139): "bonum oboedientiae, quae inter ceteras virtutes prima est, non sinit nos virtutem cuiusdam fratris, qui eam tota cordis humilitate usque ad mortem quoque sectatus est, penitus silentio praeterire."

fit to reward his death with miracles, they all took place elsewhere. Whether Desiderius knew even where this was is by no means clear, for Rainerius was assaulted while travelling to Chieti, and his body was laid to rest in some unidentified but neighbouring church: "in quadam ecclesia iuxta posita humi traditum est."[83] Although appropriate enough for the *Dialogues*, therefore, his story does not bear significantly enough on the public life of Montecassino to have warranted inclusion in the Chronicle. Not even Peter the Deacon, his particular interest in miracle lore notwithstanding, was tempted to put it there.[84]

Other Desiderian stories omitted by Leo demonstrate a clearer connection with Montecassino, but would have been of limited relevance for the Chronicle nonetheless. A story concerning Abbot John III at *Dial.* 2.1 falls into this category.[85] It relates to the time (the 980s) when John was still an archdeacon in the church of Benevento, and concerns the fraudulent maneuvering of Alax, deacon of the church of Benevento, to remove John from the scene so that he himself could be elected archbishop instead. Leo does, of course, include a chapter on John's background, his conversion to the religious life, and his calling to the abbacy of Montecassino, a chapter that at one point at least appears to contain a verbal echo of *Dial.* 2.1.[86] For the purposes of this short biographical statement, however, he undoubtedly considered the story of Alax's unseemly ambition unnecessary. Similarly irrelevant was one of the stories in the following chapter of the *Dialogues*.[87] There Desiderius reports that John spent some time

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[83] Ibid. (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140).

[84] Peter does, however, draw on Desiderius's account in *Ortus et vita* 44 (ed. Rodgers, 69), mentioning only miracles in general, and not the healing of Count Atto specifically. Of similar limited relevance to the Chronicle was *Dial.* 2.3 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128–29). It concerns the blessed Felix, another Cassinese monk sent by his abbot to the region of Chieti. Desiderius explains that he was charged with overseeing dependent cells in the area. When miracles were performed at his place of burial, his remains were transferred to the cathedral of Chieti, where an altar was erected in his honour. The particular miracle that Desiderius reports concerns the recent healing of a man who had been born blind. Rodgers, 152, assigns the story to the tenth century, suggesting that Felix was commissioned by Abbot Aligern (948/50–985). Giuseppe Di Fulvio (*La badia di San Liberatore a Maiella e Serramonacesca* [Chieti, 1962], 32–33) assigns it to the early ninth century, stating that Felix was sent out either by Abbot Gisulf (796–817; Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 249–53) or by Abbot Apollinaris (818–28; "Die älteren Abtslisten," 253–54). Whatever the case, it seems clear from the *Dialogues*' account that by Desiderius's time Felix was totally unknown at Montecassino, until, that is, the *Dialogues* themselves revived his memory. The Cassinese connection notwithstanding, for all practical purposes Felix was a saint of Chieti.

[85] *Dial.* 2.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1127–28).

[86] *Chron. Cas.* 2.22 (ed. Hoffmann, 206–7): "Hic ex *illustri* Beneventanorum civium *prosapia* genus nobile *ducens* . . ." (206). Cf. *Dial.* 2.1 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1127): "Cum idem Iohannes de *illustri prosapia* originem *duc*eret . . ." (emphasis added).

[87] *Dial.* 2.2 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1128).

in Greece, at a monastery on mount Athos. While visiting a hermit who lived on the same mountain, he witnessed a bear bring the hermit a gift of honey. A few days later St. Benedict appeared to John in a vision. Giving him the pastoral staff he was carrying, he ordered him to return to Montecassino as quickly as possible. Leo draws on this chapter of the *Dialogues* as well for his brief biography of John, repeating the story of John's vision of St. Benedict in all its essential features. A story elucidating the circumstances in which John became abbot was clearly appropriate for inclusion in a chapter prefacing his account of John's abbacy. The story of the bear and the honey was another matter, however. Unsurprisingly, Leo omits it.[88]

At first glance at least, it may seem strange that Leo should have chosen to omit Desiderius's reports of cures effected at the tomb of St. Benedict. He does include two very early examples derived from other documentary evidence available to him. One occurred in the time of Abbot Theodemar (777/8–796), the other in the time of Abbot Bertharius (856–83).[89] These serve to establish Benedict's presence and efficacy. For the more recent period he appears to have needed a special reason for including a miracle of this sort, such as was clearly the case with regard to the miraculous cure of the emperor, Henry II. This cure, which is *not* recorded by Desiderius, occurred in the spring of 1022, when, having campaigned in southern Italy, Henry was present at Montecassino for the election and consecration of Abbot Theobald.[90] He was suffering from severe pain in the abdomen at the time, the consequence, it would appear, of kidney stones. St. Benedict appeared to him one night while he was caught between sleep and wakefulness, and informed him that the next morning he would pass three stones, after which his pain would subside. When events unfolded as the saint had foreseen, the emperor, rejoicing in having been re-

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[88] It was undoubtedly a similar judgment about the relevance of the story that led Leo to omit the miracle Desiderius reports at *Dial.* 2.24 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1140). When he was still a boy in Benevento, Desiderius states, a priest named John once cured him of a tertian fever by means of the laying on of hands. The story does not tell us anything very significant about Desiderius. Its hero is really John. Hence Leo chooses not to include it in the lengthy biography of Desiderius with which he opens book three of the Chronicle. However, at *Chron. Cas.* 3.8 (ed. Hoffmann, 369) he does include another story that Desiderius himself omits, one obviously more significant for the history of Desiderius's abbacy than the cure reported in the *Dialogues*. It is the story of a vision in which Desiderius learns that his friend Alfanus, the future archbishop of Salerno, will not long remain at Montecassino, but that he himself will be elevated to the position of St. Benedict's successor.

[89] *Chron. Cas.* 1.13 and 1.33 (ed. Hoffmann, 48–49 and 90–91). See Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 249 and 257–62.

[90] On Henry's Italian campaign, and the circumstances of his visit to Montecassino, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:15–30.

stored to good health, showered gifts of great value upon the abbey as an expression of his gratitude.[91]

The fact that an emperor was involved made this particular cure especially noteworthy. That Henry had a reputation for virtue was probably not without relevance as well. Leo tells us about this a few chapters later, describing him as *imperator religiosissimus*, and illustrating the point with a striking example: the fact that he preserved a chaste marriage with the empress Cunegunda.[92] As it turns out, however, in this particular case the emperor was actually being forgiven a fault rather than being rewarded for his virtue, for Leo reports that the very malady from which he had been suffering was a punishment that St. Benedict had originally imposed upon him. While he was still simply Duke of Bavaria, Henry had once committed the affront of stabling his horses in the chapter house of a Benedictine monastery. That very night an angry Benedict appeared to him, and to chastise him for such blatant disrespect smote him on the side with the staff he was carrying. From that point on Henry had suffered severe abdominal pain.[93] Undoubtedly the homage that he paid to St. Benedict was a sufficient penance. However, Leo also tells us that there was a very special reason why Benedict took advantage of Henry's presence at Montecassino to lift the penalty, a reason that Leo is careful to knit into his account of the cure itself. Although Henry greatly venerated the abbey of Montecassino, Leo explains, he also harboured some doubt as to whether the body of St. Benedict actually rested there. When Benedict appeared to Henry and cured him, therefore, he did so to assure him that he was indeed present at his shrine and had not been carried off by the monks of Fleury.[94] In this, Leo tells us, Benedict was fully successful. Convinced both by his cure and by the vision he had experienced at the time, Henry thereafter ordered any accounts of Benedict's translation that he happened to come across to be burned. He related his own personal experience in the matter to all and sundry, arguing that both it and the

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[91] *Chron. Cas.* 2.43 (ed. Hoffmann, 247–51).

[92] Ibid. 2.46 (ed. Hoffmann, 254). Leo was an early witness to this tradition, which probably originated at Bamberg, the centre of the cult of Henry and Cunegunda. See Robert Folz, "La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur," in *Mélanges J. Stiennon* (Liège, 1982), 245–58; idem, *Les saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VIe–XIIIe siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 68 (Brussels, 1984), 84–91; and idem, *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe–XIIIe siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 76 (Brussels, 1992), 82–93.

[93] *Chron. Cas.* 2.45 (ed. Hoffmann, 253).

[94] Ibid. 2.43 (ed. Hoffmann, 247–48). Cf. *Historia Normannorum* 1.30 (ed. de Bartholomaeis, 39–41), where Amatus provides an alternate version of Henry's miraculous cure. In Amatus's version the point is not to convince the emperor of the presence of St. Benedict's remains at Montecassino, but to dissuade him from removing them.

internal contradictions in the translation text proved its falsity.[95] The reason, therefore, why this particular cure should have been included in the Chronicle when many others were omitted is clear. It verifies the basic assumption on which all reported cases of Benedict's miraculous healing power at Montecassino were premised.

Leo reports only one other cure that St. Benedict effected at Montecassino. It occurs just a few chapters later, and serves the same purpose.[96] That being the case, his decision to omit similar miracles recorded in the *Dialogues* is readily understandable. In none of these latter cases was there a larger issue at stake that would have justified its being privileged over many other such stories for inclusion in the Chronicle. Three involve young boys—two of them unidentified,[97] the third from a peasant family in the *castellum* of Sant'Angelo a Theodice[98]—who were relieved of demonic possession at the tomb of St. Benedict. In the third case Desiderius provides a lengthy account of the boy's multiple and terrifying encounters with the Devil, interpreting them as an object lesson in the importance of honouring one's parents. In the Chronicle it would have constituted a long digression. Other beneficiaries of St. Benedict's intercessory power were members of the monastic community itself, which might have made their cases more noteworthy. Not much is known of any of them, however, and their cures do not seem to have had much impact on the monastery as a whole. One, still alive at Desiderius's time of writing, is identified only as the nephew of a brother named Theoderic.[99] Another, a certain John, a Marsian by birth, is at least known by name, but Desiderius describes him simply as being of advanced age and confined to the monastery's infirmary.[100] About a third—a certain Antony, now deceased, who was both a priest and a monk at the time of his cure—we are slightly better informed. Desiderius tells us that he was well educated and well known, facts which, combined with his miraculous cure, might have invested his story with a larger significance.[101] However, the mir-

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[95] *Chron. Cas.* 2.44 (ed. Hoffmann, 252). The text to which Leo refers is the *Historia translationis sancti Benedicti* of Adrevald. See E. de Certain, ed., *Les miracles de Saint Benoît écrits par Adrevald, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte Marie moines de Fleury,* Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1858), 1–14.

[96] See *Chron. Cas.* 2.48 (ed. Hoffmann, 256–59).

[97] *Dial.* 2.14 and 2.15 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1134 and 1134–35).

[98] Ibid. 2.18 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1135–37). On the *castellum,* see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:176–77, no. 7.

[99] *Dial.* 2.17 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1135). In this case Desiderius tells us that the relics of St. Maur had a role to play in the man's final delivery from a demon. Indeed, St. Maur was seen standing beside the altar, commanding the demon to depart.

[100] Ibid. 2.16 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1135).

[101] Ibid. 2.9 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1131). Leo of Ostia's calendar records an

acle itself does not seem to have made much of an impression on the community. Desiderius heard of it from a monk named Smaragdus, still alive at his time of writing, who in turn learned of it from his uncle, a priest by the name of Leo. This Leo had evidently passed on what Antony himself had told him. This is not the record of an event clearly recorded in the monastery's collective memory.

Given its import for the community as a whole, Leo must have decided to omit a striking miracle that occurred at San Liberatore alla Maiella, a Cassinese dependency, for a different reason.[102] The story concerns St. Benedict's appearance in the middle of the night to one of the monks to warn them of the imminent collapse of their dormitory. Benedict subsequently rescued an older brother who, unable to escape in time, was caught beneath the ruins.[103] The likeliest explanation is that Leo simply did not have sufficient information to include it in the Chronicle. Desiderius gives no source for the story, and provides no indication of its date. Under the circumstances, Leo likely did not know what to do with it. Had the collapse of the dormitory occurred just before the renovations undertaken by Theobald, who was prior of San Liberatore from 1007 until his election as abbot of Montecassino in 1022,[104] we can assume that Leo would have said so. The same would apply had it preceded the more recent renovations ordered by Desiderius and undertaken by Adenulf, who was prior from some time after December 1056 to some time before September 1073.[105] The miracle must, therefore, have been either a very recent occurrence or a much older one, and of these the latter is the likelier alternative. There are no references in Desiderius's account, as is frequently the case, to surviving brethren who would remember having heard about the miracle. What we find instead, in the immediately following chapter of the *Dialogues,* is a likely reference to a documentary source. This latter chapter contains the story of the wondrous death of John, a monk in the same monastery of San Liberatore alla

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"Antonius sacerdos et monachus" in the entry for Dec. 10. Hoffmann suggests he is to be identified with the Antony of *Dial.* 2.9, and with the Antony, *litteris apprime imbutus,* who was considered for the abbacy after the death of Abbot Theobald; see Hoffmann, "Der Kalender," 124 and 130; and *Chron. Cas.* 2.61 (ed. Hoffmann, 285–86).

[102] On San Liberatore alla Maiella (Serramonacesca, prov. Pescara), see Ugo Pietrantonio, *Il monachesimo benedettino nell'Abruzzo e nel Molise,* Documenti e storia 5 (Lanciano, 1988), 289–93.

[103] *Dial.* 2.19 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1137).

[104] See *Chron. Cas.* 2.52 (ed. Hoffmann, 262–63). See also Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:383–84.

[105] See *Chron. Cas.* 3.48 (ed. Hoffmann, 427). See also Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 1:386; and Giovanni Carbonara, *Iussu Desiderii: Montecassino e l'architettura campano-abruzzese nell'undicesimo secolo* (Rome, 1979), 147–87. Carbonara assigns the new church that was built in this round of renovations a date of ca. 1080.

Maiella.[106] At the end of the story Desiderius states that he found it in an old document that had come into his possession.[107] Given that, contrary to his usual practice, he provides no source whatever for the preceding story about the collapse of the dormitory, he would probably have us understand that it too was derived from the same document. If so, Leo omitted the story because it could not meet the minimal standards required for inclusion in the Chronicle. It was an ancient tale, otherwise unknown, and completely undatable.[108] Without more precise information, it would have been impossible to place it in the narrative. Not surprisingly, Peter the Deacon evidently did not know what to do with it either.[109]

With other miracles our explanation must be more conjectural. Such is the case, for example, with regard to a pair of stories concerning Gumizo—a Cassinese monk from Spain who for some time lived as a recluse in a forest near the monastery—and his disciple Januarius.[110] Although the situation is far from clear, chronology could have been a factor. Desiderius's source for the first of these stories was John, abbot of San Vincenzo al Volturno (1058–80), and a former monk of Montecassino. Since John knew Gumizo well, he was able to tell Desiderius much about him while he was still *praepositus* at Montecassino.[111] The story, therefore, can be dated no later than 1058, the year in

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[106] *Dial.* 2.20 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1137–38). See n. 79 above.

[107] Ibid. (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138): "Haec, quae retuli, in quadam veteri paginula imperito satis stilo exarata repperi nostroque nunc associare libello studui."

[108] Both V. Balzano ("La chiesa di S. Liberatore alla Majella," *Rivista abruzzese di scienze, lettere ed arti* [Teramo] 26 [1911]: 599–612 at 600–601) and Giuseppe Di Fulvio (*La badia di San Liberatore a Maiella,* 33–34) point to the earthquake of 990. Indeed, Di Fulvio maintains (mistakenly) that Desiderius himself attributes the collapse of the dormitory to this earthquake. Both were possibly influenced by Erasmo Gattola (*Historia abbatiae Cassinensis,* 2 vols. [Venice, 1733], 1:94), who understands Desiderius to mean that, with the exception of the church in which the monks had taken refuge, the entire monastery was destroyed. Gattola in turn appears to have been misled by the abbreviated account in Johannes Mabillon et al., *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti . . . ,* 6 vols. in 9 (Paris, 1668–1701), 6.1:112. Mabillon, however, mentions the incident in his Saeculum VI, where he includes a number of stories taken from the *Dialogues.* This would suggest a date in the eleventh century. Gattola assigns it to his Saeculum V, thereby giving it a tenth-century date. On the earthquake of 990, see *Chron. Cas.* 2.11 (ed. Hoffmann, 189), where Leo of Ostia reports major damage and significant loss of life in Capua, Benevento and elsewhere in Campania.

[109] Although he does not insert this story in the Chronicle, Peter the Deacon does include it in *Hist. relatio* 2.17 (*AA SS* Mar. 3:291).

[110] *Dial.* 1.6–7 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120–22).

[111] Ibid. 1.6 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1121): "De quo venerabili viro [i.e. Gumizone] Iohannes abbas monasterii sancti Vincentii siti iuxta ortum Vulturni amnis, qui ei familiarissimus fuit, multa miranda michi, cum adhuc in nostro monasterio praepositurae curam gereret, referre solitus erat." On Abbot John V of San Vincenzo al Volturno, see *Chronicon*

which John left Montecassino to assume his abbatial responsibilities. Although Leo does not include it in the Chronicle, he clearly could have. His portion of the narrative extends to early 1075. The second miracle, however, occurred at Gumizo's death, which seems to have taken place significantly later. Precisely how much later is the point at issue. Peter the Deacon includes the same miracle in his Life of Guinizo, as he calls him,[112] and follows it with some information about his death and burial,[113] but without providing the year. The notice on Gumizo's passing that he inserts at the beginning of *Chron. Cas.* 3.48 has been taken to suggest (presumably from the context of the immediately preceding chapter) a date of ca. 1081.[114] This is likely too late. Judging from the rest of the contents of *Chron. Cas.* 3.48, Peter's chronology at this point was only approximate. Given that the following chapter of the Chronicle begins with an event dated precisely to the year 1077,[115] a date sometime in the mid-1070s seems likelier. If that is the case, however, Gumizo's death could still have occurred too late for the miracle associated with it to be worked into Leo's narrative. Peter the Deacon clearly thought so. Hence he inserts the death

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Vulturnense del Monaco Giovanni, ed. Vincenzo Federici, 3 vols., Fonti per la storia d'Italia 58–60 (Rome, 1925–40), 3:89; and Hartmut Hoffmann, "Das Chronicon Vulturnense und die Chronik von Montecassino," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22 (1966): 179–96 at 194 n. 55.

[112] See *Ortus et vita* 30 (ed. Rodgers, 52–64 at 63). On the alternate form of the name, see Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1120 n. (b), and Rodgers, 144.

[113] Peter states that Gumizo died on May 26, and that both he and Januarius were buried at San Nicola di Cicogna: "perrexit ad Dominum septimo calendas Iunii. . . . Sepultus uero est in ecclesia sancti confessoris Christi Nicolai, in loculo plumbeo ad dexteram partem altaris, in loco qui dicitur Cyconia, in quo et sanctus Ianuarius discipulus eius defunctus una cum magistro suo positus est" (*Ortus et vita* 30 [ed. Rodgers, 63–64]). On San Nicola di Cicogna, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 2:716–17, no. 79; and Loud, "Liri Valley," 60 and 67. On first glance at least, no trace of Gumizo can be found either in the calendars of Montecassino or in the necrology of San Nicola, at least not for May 26 (VII Kal. Iunii). However, both the calendar of Leo of Ostia and the twelfth-century Cassinese necrology contained in Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 47 record a "Gomizo monachus" for August 27 (VII Kal. Sept.). Hoffmann's suspicion that Peter may have been mistaken about the date is confirmed by the fact that on the same August 27 the necrology of San Nicola contains an entry for a hitherto unidentified "domnus agumizius monachus." See Hoffmann, "Der Kalender," 116, 135 and n. 48a; and Charles Hilken, ed., "The Necrology of San Nicola di Cicogna: Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, Cod. 179, ff. 1–31: Edition with Notes and Introduction" (Essay for the Licentiate in Mediaeval Studies, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies [Toronto, 1991]), 71.

[114] See *Chron. Cas.* 3.48 (ed. Hoffmann, 425–26), quoted in n. 116 below; and Rodgers, 145 and 148. That it is Peter at work here (rather than Guido) is clear from the reference to his Life of Gumizo: "Huius autem viri gesta magnifica discipulique eius Ianuarii miracula si quis plenius nosse desiderat, testum vite eius a nobis ante hoc ferme septennium exaratum relegat" (426).

[115] *Chron. Cas.* 3.49 (ed. Hoffmann, 427).

notice at *Chron. Cas.* 3.48, in the portion of the Chronicle he took over from Guido, rather than in the portion (up to *Chron. Cas.* 3.33) drafted by Leo. How one accounts for the absence of the first miracle is not as clear, unless one assumes that Leo would have judged it more appropriate to deal with Gumizo's virtues all at once on his death, when a summary of his life could also have been provided. In favour of this hypothesis is the fact that that is precisely how Peter the Deacon chooses to proceed at *Chron. Cas.* 3.48. "In these times," he says, "the blessed confessor Guinizo [Gumizo], who was also a monk in this monastery, departed this life. Because the flow of our history has reached this point, it is clearly proper to relate some of his virtues in this little [!] work."[116] This is followed by an account of one of his miracles, and by a reference to Peter's *Vita S. Guinizonis* for further information.

Possibly it is chronology that accounts for Leo's omission of the miracles at *Dial.* 2.21 as well.[117] The three miracles in this chapter all concern lamps in the basilica of St. Benedict: lamps that fall, but remain unbroken, or that are miraculously suspended with no visible means of support. Desiderius presents them as recent wonders, naming his informant, the *custos* Georgius, and indicating that he was still alive at his time of writing.[118] Since Desiderius's work on the *Dialogues* continued until 1079 at least,[119] conceivably these stories were all too recent to have been included in Leo's portion of the narrative. Once again, Peter the Deacon thought that they were. Hence he inserts them, not in the portion of the Chronicle originally drafted by Leo, but five chapters after the point where Leo's narrative breaks off.[120] If it was not the chronology of these stories that was responsible for their omission, possibly it was the subject matter. They are not stories of great consequence. Indeed, Desiderius himself calls them *miracula parva,* and frankly admits that it would be super-

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[116] Ibid. 3.48 (ed. Hoffmann, 425–26): "His namque temporibus Guinizo confessor almificus et huius cenobii monachus vita decessit. De cuius virtutibus, quia ad id loci decurrens pervenit historia, equum plane videtur aliquanta opusculo isti annectere" (425).

[117] *Dial.* 2.21 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138).

[118] Georgius seems to have informed him of at least two of the three miracles. In the third case Desiderius refers to those "qui huic miraculo interfuere." In Leo's calendar Georgius appears under the entry for 4 June; see Hoffmann, "Der Kalender," 111, 135 and n. 45a. See also Francis Newton, "The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The *Chronicle* and Some Surviving Manuscripts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 35–54 at 53; and idem, *Scriptorium and Library,* 220.

[119] See above, at n. 12.

[120] *Chron. Cas.* 3.38 (ed. Hoffmann, 415). If Guido was responsible for the original entry, Peter the Deacon at least endorsed it by leaving it in place. The wording of the *Dialogues* is changed slightly, as well as the order of the miracles. Cf. *Hist. relatio* 2.19–21 (*AA SS* Mar. 3:291), where the same wording is used, but the miracles appear in the order in which Desiderius presents them.

fluous to include more than a few of the many miracles of this sort that have come to his attention. He considers them worthy of inclusion nonetheless because of the power they have to augment faith.[121] From Desiderius's point of view, this was a reasonable choice. From Leo's, one would think not. These miracles are completely lacking in the broader kind of historical significance that would have made them suitable for the Chronicle. One hesitates to judge categorically, however, for Leo *does* include one miracle of a similar sort dating from the early tenth century, uncharacteristic though it may be. It occurred during the period when, Montecassino having been destroyed by the Saracens, first Teano and then Capua provided a home for the monks. Leo describes the building of San Benedetto, Capua, under Abbot John I (914–34),[122] and the provision of its church with the books and other utensils necessary for liturgical purposes. He then informs us of a *satis mirabile signum* that occurred in the same monastery. From the third hour of the day until almost the middle of the night, he tells us, the high altar of the church sweated such an abundance of moisture that the altar cloths were completely soaked![123]

How to account for Leo's omission of two miracles in book one of the *Dialogues* is also uncertain. They are found in consecutive chapters of book one and share a common theme.[124] The first (*Dial.* 1.11) is the story of a Norman who was drowned while trying to deprive some fishermen of the monastery of their catch. The second (*Dial.* 1.12) is the story of some thieves who broke into the monastic storeroom by night and filled several sacks with plunder. Once they moved them outside, they found the sacks impossible to lift, and in their confusion they spent the remainder of the night wandering around the monastic enclosure, unable to find their way out. Both stories show Montecassino under divine protection, and in that regard are similar to a number of other miracles that Leo *does* include in the Chronicle: the story (*Dial.* 2.12) of the miraculous rainfall that extinguished a fire threatening the entire monastery,[125] the story (*Dial.* 2.22) of the divine intervention that led to the successful capture of Sant'Andrea,[126] and the story (*Dial.* 1.10) of the Capuan knights who were di-

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[121] *Dial.* 2.21 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138). Desiderius begins the chapter as follows: "Quia vero omnipotens Deus non tantum in magnis, sed etiam in minimis rebus aliquando ostendit mirabilia sua, ut fides credentium magis ac magis augeatur ac in laudibus creatoris sui universa creatura prorumpat. . . ." See Fagnoni, "I *Dialogi*," 238–39 and n. 20.

[122] Hoffmann, "Die älteren Abtslisten," 270–72.

[123] *Chron. Cas.* 1.53 (ed. Hoffmann, 138).

[124] *Dial.* 1.11–12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124–25).

[125] Ibid. 2.12 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1132–33); *Chron. Cas.* 2.64 (ed. Hoffmann, 293–94). See above, at n. 69.

[126] *Dial.* 2.22 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1138–39); *Chron. Cas.* 2.71–72 (ed. Hoffmann, 309–14). See above, at n. 53.

vinely frustrated in their effort to capture Conca.[127] Why Leo should not have
included these two stories in the Chronicle as well is not immediately clear.
Possibly once again chronology was a factor, and the incident reported at *Dial.*
1.12 was omitted simply because it occurred too late to be included in Leo's
portion of the Chronicle. That was evidently Peter the Deacon's judgment, for
it was well after the point where Leo's account breaks off that he (or possibly
Guido) inserted an abbreviated version of its most miraculous elements.[128] We
have already mentioned a couple of stories whose absence from Leo's portion
of the Chronicle might be explained on such a basis,[129] and similar evidence,
albeit for the most part weak, suggests the possibility of others as well.[130] This
would still leave unexplained, however, the omission of the story in *Dial.* 1.11,
a chapter by which Leo nonetheless appears to have been influenced.[131] Peter

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[127] *Dial.* 1.10 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124); *Chron. Cas.* 2.80 (ed. Hoffmann,
326–27). See above, at n. 37.

[128] See *Chron. Cas.* 3.64 (ed. Hoffmann, 446). Peter the Deacon includes the full account,
as found in the *Dialogues,* at *Hist. relatio* 1.13 (*AA SS* Mar. 3:290).

[129] See above, at nn. 114–15 and 120.

[130] The miracles concerned are those related at *Dial.* 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8 (ed. Schwartz and
Hofmeister, 1129–31). See above, at nn. 74 and 75, and see n. 79 above. Peter the Deacon
reports these four stories in *Ortus et vita* 43, 38, 41, 40 (ed. Rodgers, 67–69), the second of
them in *Hist. relatio* 2.16 (*AA SS* Mar. 3:291) as well. Peter (or Guido) was also responsible
for their insertion in the Chronicle, where the context provides an indication of date. The story
of the wondrous death of the monk Gregory in *Dial.* 2.4 appears at *Chron. Cas.* 3.51 (ed.
Hoffmann, 434), where a date of ca. 1083 is suggested. Since Leo's narrative extends only to
early 1075, this would have made it too late for Leo to have included it. Desiderius's wording,
however, renders this late a date for Gregory's death unlikely. He does not present Gregory as
a man he knew personally, but as someone about whose sanctity he remembers having been
informed by several of his brethren. The other three episodes all appear at *Chron. Cas.* 3.43
(ed. Hoffmann, 420–21), where their placement suggests a date of ca. 1078–79. In the case of
the remarkable death of the monk Angelus (*Dial.* 2.5), once again the dating is unlikely. As
his source for the story Desiderius refers to some brethren who are still alive, not the likeliest
wording for an event that had occurred in the recent past, unless, of course, the brethren who
witnessed it were both few in number and elderly. The incident reported, however, occurred
in the monastery's kitchen, where there were several witnesses at least. Hence Desiderius
refers to all those who were present ("omnes qui aderant"), and to the Devil complaining bit-
terly "coram fratribus." The renovations that Desiderius undertook after the completion of the
new basilica of St. Benedict in 1071 included a new kitchen, one that Peter the Deacon, in a
comment inserted in Leo of Ostia's second recension, describes as spacious (*Chron. Cas.* 3.33
[ed. Hoffmann, 405]). A date of ca. 1078–79 also appears to be too late for the story at *Dial.*
2.8, the story of the cure of one of the brethren at the tomb of a monk named John. Desiderius
states that he cannot remember the name of the monk cured, although presumably the identity
of someone receiving such a recent and remarkable cure could easily have been recovered. In
the one remaining case (*Dial.* 2.7) a date of 1078–79 is more plausible. However, the lack of
any reference to contemporaries who knew the Stephen whose wondrous death is reported
counts against it.

[131] See *Chron. Cas.* 2.75 (ed. Hoffmann, 317–18), where Leo informs us of the perfidy

evidently thought that Leo could indeed have reported this miracle. He inter-polates it into Leo's account at *Chron. Cas.* 2.64, giving it an apparent date of 1038.[132]

One significant feature of the stories at *Dial.* 1.11 and 1.12 is that, unlike comparable episodes that Leo included in the Chronicle, these are not well at-tested. Desiderius reports the story of the fire at *Dial.* 2.12 on the authority of many brethren, referring as well to the account to be found in Peter Damian's sermon on the vigil of St. Benedict. Although no specific source is mentioned at either *Dial.* 1.10, the story of the Capuan knights, or *Dial.* 2.22, the story of the capture of Sant'Andrea, the level of detail in both suggests that Desiderius was drawing on a well-established tradition in the collective memory of the monastery. Leo's evidence corroborates the fact that all three stories were well known, for in each case he was able to verify the Desiderian account through his own independent sources. The difference between these three stories and the two at *Dial.* 1.11 and 1.12 is striking. Not only is there no reference to a source for either of the latter stories, but both involve unnamed protagonists and are of uncertain date. If the collective memory of the monastery was unable to fill the lacunae, Leo may have felt he had no choice but to leave them to one side. Alternatively, he may have omitted them simply because they were not particularly important. The threat that the monastery had survived in each case was relatively minor. Although Desiderius comments at length on the outcome of *Dial.* 1.12, seeing the charitable way the brethren treat the thieves as an ob-ject lesson in the ethics of the Gospel, in neither case does he remark on the meaning of the miracle itself. Presumably he thought it unnecessary. Like the miracles of the lamps, these too are *miracula parva*, but useful nonetheless in Desiderius's judgment because of the way they illustrate God's watchful care over the monastery in things small as well as great. This is a point that Leo would have recognized and endorsed. He also would have seen, however, that for the purposes of the Chronicle both stories were marginal. Neither had any impact on the larger history of Montecassino.

In one final case at least—Leo's omission of the miracle reported at *Dial.* 1.13—the situation is clearer.[133] It is also uniquely significant. One Easter Day, Desiderius tells us, Sergius, *magister militum* at Naples, had been hunting boar

and sudden death of Count Rodulfus, the Norman leader at Sant'Andrea (see above, at n. 61). Here the Normans are described as "genus infidum et avaritie inexplebilis." Cf. *Dial.* 1.11 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1124), where they are characterized as "ad rapinam avidi, ad invadenda aliena bona inexplebiliter anxii."

[132] *Chron. Cas.* 2.64 (ed. Hoffmann, 294). Peter lifts the story verbatim from the *Dia-logues.* Cf. *Hist. relatio* 1.12 (*AA SS* Mar. 3:289–90), where he rewrites the story, changing much of the wording.

[133] *Dial.* 1.13 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1125–27).

with an accompanying retinue. When darkness began to set in, they hastened home, leaving behind a boy by the name of Pytagoras, who was to gather up the nets used in the hunt and follow as quickly as possible. On his way home Pytagoras was suddenly confronted by two monks of venerable appearance (*reverendi admodum vultus*) who led him to a foul lake that evidently was a place of spiritual punishment. There he saw Pandulf IV, prince of Capua, who had recently died. He was shackled by iron chains and submerged up to his neck. Two evil spirits bound his throat with withes fashioned out of wild vines, and repeatedly drew him down into the depths and then pulled him up again. Pandulf managed to explain to Pytagoras that he was suffering this punishment because of a golden chalice that he had taken from the monastery of St. Bene-dict. He asked the boy to go to his wife in Capua, to tell her what he had seen, and to ask her to see to the return of the chalice. She would recognize the seri-ousness of the request when he told her that the chalice was being held in pawn by another Pandulf—a Pandulf *Gualae filius*—and would need to be redeemed before it could be returned to the monastery. Soon after Pytagoras returned home, he fell ill and died, but not before he told the story to several people, among them Pandulf *Gualae filius*. It was from this same Pandulf that both Desiderius and the wife of the doomed Pandulf IV heard the story. Unfortu-nately for her husband's sake, the woman was unmoved by it. Placing her own interests before those of her spouse, Desiderius tells us, she was unwilling to put up the price to redeem the chalice and return it to Montecassino. In re-sponse to the questioning of Theophilus, his interlocutor in the *Dialogues*, De-siderius finishes his account by explaining, among other things, why the boy was allowed to have such a vision. The answer is obvious. It occurred by di-vine disposition as a warning to any potential aggressors who might be tempted to lay their hands on monastic property.

Since he was a major enemy of the monastery, Pandulf IV is featured promi-nently in Leo's narrative. Leo tells of Pandulf's plundering of both Monte-cassino itself and its dependent house in Capua, mentioning as well his demand that Montecassino surrender a *calix imperatoris,* a gift of Henry II, to be hauled away with the other booty.[134] However, he says nothing about any post-mortem punishment that the prince suffered for these sins, leaving it to Peter the Deacon to insert the story of Pytagoras's vision in his reworking of Leo's second recension.[135] The omission seems anomalous, given that Leo does in-

[134] *Chron. Cas.* 2.59 (ed. Hoffmann, 280–81). Cf. ibid. 2.43 (ed. Hoffmann, 249), where he records Henry II's gift of this chalice—described as "calicem aureum cum patena sua gemmis et margaritis ac smaltis optimis laboratum" (CDMS text)—to Montecassino. See above, at n. 91.

[135] Ibid. 2.59 (ed. Hoffmann, 281–83). Peter copies the *Dialogues* word-for-word, omit-ting the discussion between Desiderius and Theophilus at the end of Desiderius's account. By

clude an account of Pandulf's first, unsuccessful attempt to lay his hands on the chalice. Pandulf sent a retainer named Adelgisius to seize, along with some other valuables of the abbey, both the chalice and a chasuble that had been donated to Montecassino by Henry II. This plunder was to be consigned to the counts of Aquino and Sesto Campano in pawn.[136] Although the brethren were divided on how to respond, Adam, "qui tunc ecclesie curam gerebat,"[137] informed Adelgisius that he would surrender these items neither to him nor to any other man. Instead, he placed them on the altar of St. Benedict, daring Adelgisius to lift them from the altar himself if he had the presumption so to do. Adelgisius was unintimidated, but at the very moment that he reached out to grasp the booty he was stricken and collapsed on the floor, the victim of an apparent stroke. By the next day, Leo tells us, he was able to return to the prince, his recovery complete except for the facial paralysis he suffered for the rest of his life. Moreover, Pandulf was not deprived of his prize for long. Shortly thereafter, Leo states, he sent Basil, prior of San Benedetto in Capua and for all practical purposes abbot of Montecassino, who carted off the entire treasure of the monastery.

By this point Leo's narrative has reached only the early 1030s. Perhaps he thought that inserting a story that occurred after Pandulf's death in February, 1049, would have distorted his account, although this is unlikely.[138] It is indeed a long story that Desiderius tells, and it occupies an unusually large amount of space in Peter the Deacon's reworked version of the Chronicle. Since, however, an abbreviated version would certainly have been possible, one suspects that

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carelessly retaining a personal pronoun in the first person singular, he even manages to appropriate for himself Desiderius's claim to have heard the story from Pandulf *Gualae filius:* "Pandulfus etiam ipse, qui causa pignoris calicem apud se habebat, hoc ipso tempore nescio qua de causa Neapolim pergens hec omnia ex ore ipsius Pytagore se audisse michi retulit . . ." (282). In the version of the story that he includes at *Ortus et vita* 30 (ed. Rodgers, 60–61), a version that is partly verbatim copy and partly paraphrase, this error is avoided.

[136] *Chron. Cas.* 2.59 (ed. Hoffmann, 280–81 at 280): "iubet nequissimus princeps cuidam fideli suo nomine Adelgisio, ut quantocius ad hoc monasterium veniat eique planetam et calicem imperatoris et nonnulla alia ecclesie precipua ornamenta Aquini et Sexti comitibus inpignanda perniciter deferat" (CDMS text). Although Leo might be taken to mean that only the other valuables were to be consigned to the counts, subsequent developments show that this was not the case.

[137] See above, at nn. 38 and 40.

[138] Further on, when Leo's narrative *has* reached the appropriate chronological point, his attention is focused on developments in the papacy. He does mention Pandulf's death, but as an afterthought, and only in passing, in connection with Leo IX's travelling to Capua to consecrate his son, Hildebrand, as archbishop. See *Chron. Cas.* 2.79 (ed. Hoffmann, 324). The notice is found only in the first recension, where it appears as an interlinear and marginal addition. Given the context, a story of Pandulf's post-mortem punishment would have been out of place.

the explanation lies elsewhere. Conceivably Leo thought that the chalice of De-
siderius's story was a different chalice entirely, not to be confused with the
calix imperatoris, although this too is unlikely. If he thought that was the case,
why did he not take advantage of the situation by showing how Pandulf himself
was punished in the hereafter for his theft of the one chalice, while his hench-
man, Adelgesius, was stricken in this life for laying his hands on the other? The
likeliest scenario is that Leo did indeed think that the two chalices were one and
the same, and that it was this very conviction that undermined his confidence in
the story of Pytagoras's vision. In Leo's eyes, the story could not be inserted in
the Chronicle because it was impossible to reconcile with the historical record.

There is no reason to think Leo would have regarded Desiderius's story a
pious fiction. Desiderius tells us that it was so widely known that no one could
have any doubt about it.[139] It also features two identifiable individuals in addi-
tion to Pandulf IV: Sergius V, duke of Naples (1050/53–ca.1076);[140] and Pan-
dulf, *Gualae filius.*[141] There is every indication that Desiderius was passing on
a story he had received in good faith. At some point in its transmission, how-
ever, the tale could have been seriously corrupted, perhaps by being confused
with a story (or stories) heard elsewhere.[142] That is how things must have ap-

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[139] *Dial.* 1.13 (ed. Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1125): "Res est mirabilis et vehementer stu-
penda, quam narro, sed ita a pluribus cognita, ut de ea ab aliquo in nullo debeat dubitari."

[140] See Schwartz and Hofmeister, 1113, 1125 n. 3; and Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von
Montecassino,* 281 n. 8.

[141] See Vera von Falkenhausen, "I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione
degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia," in *Forme di potere e struttura so-
ciale in Italia nel Medioevo,* ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), 321–77 at 336. Although
he cannot be identified precisely, this Pandulf figures prominently (between 1063 and 1078)
in documents recording donations to Montecassino by Princes Richard I and Jordan I of
Capua.

[142] Similar stories were in circulation, and were known to Desiderius. See Peter Damian,
Epist. 14 and 102 (ed. Kurt Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani,* MGH, Die Briefe der
deutschen Kaiserzeit 4, 4 vols. [Munich, 1983–93], 1:145–50 at 146–49, and 3:118–38 at
120–21). *Epist.* 14, written sometime before 1045, was addressed to an unnamed bishop in
the vicinity of Fonte Avellana. However, its inclusion in Montecassino, Archivio della Badia
359 assures that it would have been known at Montecassino. On this manuscript, see
McCready, "Dating the *Dialogues,*" 166 n. 77. *Epist.* 14 includes an account of the vision of a
priest named Rainerius, who saw, *inter alia,* a count by the name of Lothar, recently de-
ceased, being punished in a foul river. The count informed the priest that the sins for which
he was being held accountable included his once having seized the property of the blessed
Mary, and he begged him to ask the members of his household to restore the property so that
his pain could be relieved. Unfortunately, however, the priest was unable to identify the
church to which restitution should be made. *Epist.* 102 is a letter of 1063/64 addressed spe-
cifically to Desiderius and the monks of Montecassino. Here Damian describes the vision of
an unnamed brother who saw Bishop Arnald of Arezzo, submerged up to his neck in a noi-
some lake, being punished by two evil spirits. The bishop, who is said to have been well

peared to Leo, for whom the story's defects would undoubtedly have been suf-
ficient to disqualify it for inclusion in the Chronicle. According to Desiderius,
the chalice was pledged to Pandulf *Gualae filius,* who still retained it after
Pandulf IV's death. To ease his suffering, Prince Pandulf asked Pytagoras to
approach his wife about redeeming the pledge and returning the chalice to
Montecassino on his behalf. According to Leo's best information, however, the
calix imperatoris had already been restored to the abbey well before the vision
of Pytagoras could have occurred. It had been pledged not to Pandulf *Gualae
filius* but to Adenulf V, count of Aquino and duke of Gaeta, who returned it to
Montecassino during Pandulf's lifetime. Immediately after doing so (sometime
ca. 1046), he was formally enrolled as *defensor* of the monastery, and in his
new capacity confronted Pandulf, who had been threatening the lands of the
monastery once again.[143]

On the reasonable assumption that Leo thought that both stories were about
the same chalice, the conclusion is clear. Leo omitted Desiderius's story be-
cause it could not possibly have been true. However, it was the only Desiderian
story he clearly rejected on those grounds. Elsewhere, as we have seen, Leo
demonstrates a high degree of confidence in the factual veracity of Desiderius's
account, inserting a good deal of the *Dialogues* into the Chronicle without res-
ervation. He treats the Desiderian narrative as an historical record of events
that actually occurred, the extraordinary nature of these events notwithstand-
ing. Far from considering Desiderius's miracle stories suspect, more than once
he actually seeks to underline the miraculous element in the events reported.
Sometimes he has to correct one or two matters of detail, always in an unob-
trusive manner. Indeed, on one occasion he would have considered Desiderius's
understanding of the basic historical situation to be faulty, although the story at
the heart of the Desiderian account was not thereby compromised. He also
omits a number of Desiderius's stories, and for reasons that are not always
transparent. It was, however, not because he distrusted such material, or be-
cause he thought that it was different in kind from the stuff of historical narra-
tives. In all but one of these cases one can discern, with greater or lesser
certainty, why he would have rejected the story at issue as inappropriate for the
Chronicle without thereby necessarily challenging its historicity. The tale of
Pytagoras's vision is unique. In Leo's judgment, this is a story that simply
cannot be salvaged. Here, and here alone, Desiderius has let him down. But he
has done so, Leo would say, by making an *historical* error, by simply getting

known to Desiderius, was guilty of once having taken a golden chalice from a monastery in
his diocese. Damian goes on to say (p. 122) that the bishop was informed of the vision, and
promised to return the chalice. But he delayed doing so, and then died suddenly.

[143] *Chron. Cas.* 2.74 (ed. Hoffmann, 317).

his facts wrong, not by abandoning the factual realm in the pursuit of edifying fantasy.

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DOMINIUM REGALE ET POLITICUM: SIR JOHN FORTESCUE'S RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEM OF TYRANNY AS PRESENTED BY THOMAS AQUINAS AND PTOLEMY OF LUCCA

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THE description of royal and political lordship (*dominium regale et politicum*) set forth by Sir John Fortescue (ca.1395–ca.1477) is an application of his experience of English law to a problematic area in Aristotelian and medieval political theory.[1] Both Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274) argue that kingship is the best form of lordship, yet they also claim that tyranny is the worst form of lordship, since the corruption of the best is the worst. How then can the monarch be prevented from becoming a tyrant? Thomas Aquinas also advocates a political lordship, meaning that the multitude participates in a rule that is directed towards the public good. Thomas's support for both a kingship and a polity seems inconsistent, however, and he gives few clear historical examples to illustrate his argument. Ptolemy of Lucca (ca. 1236–ca. 1327) and John Fortescue take contrasting approaches to Thomas's position. Ptolemy of Lucca stresses the political aspect of Thomas's theory and conflates royal lordship with tyranny. The present paper will argue for the thesis that John Fortescue's understanding of a royal and political lordship is a natural outgrowth of Thomas Aquinas's attempt to provide a means of preventing the monarch from degenerating into a tyrant.

The argument has three parts. First, the problematic nature of Thomas's approach to kingship will be explained. Second, it will be shown that Ptolemy of Lucca's attempt to address this problem by appealing to the experience of the Italian city-state contradicts Thomas's arguments for the importance of kingship. Third, I will argue that Fortescue differs from Ptolemy and Thomas by using English political experience to show how the benefits of a kingship can be combined with wide political participation and the sovereignty of law.

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[1] For the importance of lordship in late medieval political thought, see J. H. Burns, *Lordship, Kingship and Empire: The Idea of Monarchy, 1400–1525*, The Carlyle Lectures 1988 (Oxford, 1992); for the meaning of the term "lordship" (*dominium*), see especially 16–39. This book is valuable for understanding the development of monarchy in Europe as a whole.

The scholarly literature on Fortescue's royal and political lordship falls into two groups. Scholars like Felix Gilbert and J. H. Burns attempt to link Fortescue's understanding of lordship with his antecedents in political philosophy.[2] Gilbert argues that Fortescue's earlier understanding of royal and political lordship has its roots in Ptolemy of Lucca's description of the Roman Empire. James Blythe has recently endorsed Gilbert's view.[3] Like Blythe and Gilbert, Burns tries to understand Fortescue by comparing him with his philosophical predecessors, but Burns shows that there are difficulties in identifying the royal and political lordship described by Fortescue with the royal and political lordship that Prolemy of Lucca attributes to the Roman Empire.[4]

Charles H. McIlwain, S. B. Chrimes, and Donald Hanson have approached Fortescue's understanding of lordship in the context of English political theory and practice.[5] Although these authors occasionally do discuss the relationship between Fortescue and the thought of Ptolemy and Thomas Aquinas, this scholarly tradition focuses on how Fortescue was influenced by the English political tradition.[6] More recently, Norman Doe has shown how Fortescue's understanding of lordship has its roots in the feudal society of late medieval Britain.[7] Doe's treatment of Fortescue does not refer to the above scholarly literature, and he does not consider the relationship between Fortescue and the theories of Thomas Aquinas and Ptolemy of Lucca.

The present article combines the approaches of both groups of scholars. It follows the first approach in that it discusses the relation of Fortescue's theory of lordship to the history of political philosophy. However, it takes elements from the second approach in that it uses Fortescue's legal and political context to help explain how Fortescue makes a new contribution to political philoso-

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[2] Felix Gilbert, "Sir John Fortescue's *dominium regale et politicum*," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 2 (1944): 88–97; J. H. Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium*," *The Historical Journal* 28 (1985): 777–97.

[3] James M. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution of the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1992), 260–61; idem, introduction to *On the Government of Rulers: De Regimine Principum,* by Ptolemy of Lucca with portions attributed to Thomas Aquinas, trans. James M. Blythe (Philadelphia, 1997), 46.

[4] Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium*," 781–82.

[5] Charles Howard McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West: From the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1932), 354–63; S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), 300–332; Donald W. Hanson, *From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 217–52.

[6] "In short, Fortescue did not refer to the discussion of the mixed polity in Aquinas, if he knew it at all, because he had found what he needed elsewhere" (Hanson, *From Kingdom to Commonwealth*, 244).

[7] Norman Doe, *Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law* (Cambridge, 1990), 7–32.

phy. Moreover, the present article answers two questions that are not adequately formulated in the present scholarly literature. First, what problem in the political philosophy of Thomas and Ptolemy does Fortescue intend to address in his theory of royal and political lordship? Second, what historical influences does Fortescue draw upon in order to address this problem?

<div align="center">I</div>

John Fortescue knew the political thought of Thomas Aquinas through his reading of the *De regimine principum,* a work which was started by Thomas and finished by Ptolemy of Lucca.[8] Although Thomas's authorship has periodically come into question, contemporary scholars generally accept the entire first book and the first eight chapters of the second book as an authentic work.[9]

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[8] I have compared my translations with Blythe's translation. References to the Latin edition of Thomas's portion are from the Leonine Commission's edition of Thomas Aquinas, *De regno ad regem cypri,* in *Opera omnia* 42 (Rome, 1979), 417–71. Since the book and chapter division in the Leonine edition differs from the book and chapter division used by Blythe, in all references to the Latin text the book and chapter numbers in the Leonine edition will be placed in brackets following the book and chapter number in Blythe's translation. The Latin text of Ptolemy can be found in Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia necnon opera minora,* vol. 1: *Opuscula philosophica,* ed. J. Perrier (Paris, 1949), 270–426. Since the paragraph numbering of the Latin edition differs from the paragraph numbering adopted by Blythe, the paragraph numbers in the Latin will be listed in brackets after references to Blythe's numbering. For a discussion of Ptolemy's authorship, see Alfred O'Rahilly, "Notes on St. Thomas: IV. 'De Regimine Principum'; V. Tholomeo of Lucca, the Continuator of the 'De Regimine Principum,' " *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 31 (1928): 496–10, 606–14; and Blythe, introduction to *On the Government of Rulers,* 3–5.

[9] "Since the work of the Leonine Commission, this doubt is no longer in vogue, but it is important to note that Thomas's legacy in this work stops in the middle of chapter II 8 (formerly II 4)" (Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas,* vol. 1: *The Person and His Work,* trans. Robert Royal (Washington, D.C., 1996), 170. Blythe (introduction, to *On the Government of Rulers,* 3–5) is uncertain about Thomas's authorship. In support of his reservations Blythe lists two published sources: Walter Mohr, "Bemerkungen zur Verfasserschaft von De regimine principum," in *Virtus Politica: Festgabe zum 75. Geburtstag von Alfons Hufnagel,* ed. Joseph Möller and Helmut Kohlenberger (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1974), 127–45; Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992), 22. Thomas's authorship was perhaps more convincingly questioned by I. Th. Eschmann, introduction to Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship to the King of Cyprus,* trans. Gerald B. Phelan and I. Th. Eschmann (Toronto, 1949); idem, "St. Thomas Aquinas on the Two Powers," *Mediaeval Studies* 20 (1958): 177–205. In these two studies Eschmann does not come out directly against Thomas's authorship, although Eschmann did deny such authorship on his deathbed. For the story, see James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Works,* 2d ed. (Washington, D.C., 1983), 434 n. 6. The main objections to Thomas's authorship involve problems with the manuscript evidence, the structure of the work, and the doctrines expressed. Responses to most of these objections and a strong case for Thomas's authorship can be found

Fortescue thought that the entire work was written by Thomas Aquinas. It will be argued here that Fortescue's own thought is a response to the first book of the *De regimine,* where St. Thomas argues for the importance of kingship and against tyranny. Fortescue and Ptolemy differ on how to respond to those arguments. Even though in the medieval period the *De regimine* was thought to be the work of one author, the arguments of Ptolemy and Thomas clearly differ. Consequently, if Fortescue addresses the issues raised by Thomas in such a way as to fall on Thomas's side of the argument, then his political thought is closer to the thought of Thomas. Fortescue himself was, however, unable to make this distinction.

To look at the problems that Thomas raises about lordship (*dominium*), it is necessary to examine his argument that monarchy is the best form of government (*regimen*). Then the problematic nature of Thomas's attempt to limit the king will be examined.

Thomas Aquinas begins his argument in support of monarchy with a discussion of human nature.[10] Since humans are social, there is a need for a government which directs the activities of all towards the common good. However, the

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in Leonard E. Boyle, "The *De regno* and the Two Powers," in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis,* ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto, 1974), 236–47; L. P. Fitzgerald, "St. Thomas Aquinas and the Two Powers," *Angelicum* 56 (1979): 515–56; H.-F. Dondaine, preface to the Leonine edition of *De regno,* 421–44; and Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino,* 189–95. See also Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas,* 13 n. 65.

[10] Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.1–7 [1.1–6]. Fortescue agrees with the basic argument for the importance of kingship that Thomas presents in book 1 of the work Fortescue writes, "Modum tamen quo gentes per legem naturae regiam potestatem inchoarunt, vel potius, quo lex ipsa eam per gentes inchoavit, Sanctus Thomas primo libro tractatus sui De Regimine Principum, creditur veraciter docuisse, cum dixerit, quod in omnibus quae in unum ordinantur aliquid invenitur alterius naturaliter regitivum: ut in universitate corporum per primum corpus silicet celeste terestria corpora regulantur, et illa per creaturam rationalem, et corpus hominis per animam ejus, et partes animae, ut irascibilis, et concupiscibilis, per rationem, et membra corporis hominis per caput et cor omnia gubernantur" (John Fortescue, *De natura legis naturae* 1.18, ed. Thomas [Fortescue] Lord Clermont in *The Works of Sir John Fortescue, vol.* 1 of *Sir John Fortescue, Knight: His Life, Works and Family History,* 2 vols. [London, 1869], 80). *De natura* 1.18 is also printed by S. B. Chrimes in the notes to the edition and translation of John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Anglie* (Cambridge, 1942), 156–57, and the chapter is also translated in John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England,* ed. and trans. Shelley Lockwood (Cambridge, 1997), 131–33. With some alterations, the translations of Fortescue will be taken from Lockwood's edition, whose translation of the *De laudibus* is based on that of Chrimes. For a related passage of Fortescue in the same work, see *De natura* 1.26 [also printed by Chrimes, 155]; trans. Lockwood, 135). For Fortescue's other explicit references to the *De regimine principum,* see *De laudibus* 9 and 37; and *Governance* 1, 4, and 8 (for a good critical edition of the English work, see John Fortescue, *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy,* ed. Charles Plummer [Oxford, 1885]).

rulers in some governments act for their own good and not for the good of the whole. Thomas argues that these unjust governments are against nature: "But if the government is ordained not to the common good of the multitude, but to the private good of the one ruling, the government will be unjust and perverse."[11]

Thomas follows Aristotle in distinguishing between three different types of just government: the polity, the aristocracy, and the kingship. This division has its basis in the number of rulers. A polity is the rule by a multitude, whereas an aristocracy is the rule by the few and best, and the king is someone who governs alone. Each of these three just forms of government has an unjust counterpart which seeks its own private good: democracy, oligarchy, and tyranny.[12] Thomas writes, "If therefore the government becomes unjust by means of such a one alone who seeks his own gain from the government, but not the good of the multitude subject to him, such a ruler is called a tyrant."[13] Tyranny is the corrupt counterpart of kingship.

Monarchy is the best form of government. Thomas argues that the good of the city requires peace, which is a unity among the multitude. Since a monarchy has only one ruler, it is the type of government most likely to preserve unity. Thomas claims that it is a historical fact that cities and provinces which are not ruled by one ruler are more likely to be divided into factions. Furthermore, Thomas makes the argument that it is more natural to have only one ruler:

> For among the multitude of members there is one which moves principally, namely the heart; and in the parts of the soul one part presides principally, namely the reason; and among the bees, one king, and in the whole universe, one God, the maker and ruler of all. And this follows reasonably: for every multitude is derived from one.[14]

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[11] "Si uero non ad bonum commune multitudinis sed ad bonum priuatum regentis regimen ordinetur, erit regimen iniustum atque peruersum . . ." (Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.2.1 [1.1], Leonine edition, 450.112–14). Cf. Fortescue, *De laudibus* 38.

[12] Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.2 [1.1]; Aristotle, *Politics* 3.7 (1279a22–b10). See Fortescue, *De natura* 1.27.

[13] "Si igitur regimen iniustum per unum tantum fiat qui sua commoda ex regimine querat, non autem bonum multitudinis sibi subiecte, talis rector tyrannus uocatur . . ." (Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.2.2 [1.1], Leonine edition, 450.121–24).

[14] ". . . in membrorum enim multitudine est unum quod principaliter mouet, scilicet cor; et in partibus anime una uis principaliter presidet, scilicet ratio; et in apibus unus rex, et in toto uniuerso unus Deus omnium factor et rector. Et hoc rationabiliter: omnis enim multitudo deriuatur ab uno" (ibid. 1.3.4 [1.2], Leonine edition, 451.42–48). The description of the political community as an organic body has patristic and classical roots. For its origin and development in the Middle Ages, see Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der Organologischen*

Since in nature the good of the whole is preserved by one ruler, it is better in human society for one ruler to promote the public good. Thomas makes a clear argument for kingship based on the importance of unity for the state, the historical success of kingship, and the analogues of kingship in nature.

The corruption of the best government is the worst government. Thomas writes, "But just as the government of a king is the best, hence it follows that the government of a tyrant is the worst."[15] The monarch is the most effective ruler for doing good, but the tyrant's power only enables him to inflict harm on his subjects most effectively by seeking only his own good. Consequently, tyranny is the worst form of government.

A just government can degenerate into an unjust one. Since tyranny is the unjust counterpart of kingship, it might seem that tyrants would most likely arise in a kingdom. Thomas, however, thinks that tyranny is more likely to arise from a rule by the multitude, which more easily gives rise to dissenting factions. The leader of a faction in a divided society will often become a tyrant. Thomas argues, "Therefore it might seem that a kingship, which is the best government, should be most avoided on account of a tyranny; a tyranny, however, is not less but more accustomed to arise in the government of many than in the government of one."[16]

Thomas uses the Roman Republic to illustrate his point that a tyrant is most likely to come from rule by the many. Originally, Rome was governed by tyrants. But the people rejected that form of rule so that they might set up an aristocracy. Thomas quotes Sallust: "It is incredible to relate how much the Roman city prospered in a brief time once liberty had been obtained."[17] The rule by the many, however, allowed factions to arise within the Republic, and tyrants again took control. According to Thomas, the history of Rome shows how tyranny is historically more closely related to rule by the many than it is to kingship.

Although a kingship is least likely to give rise to tyranny, there is still a danger that a king might become a tyrant. The history of Rome provides an ex-

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Staatsauffasung im Mittelalter (Stuttgart, 1978). For Thomas's discussion in the *De regimine principum*, see 149–65.

[15] "Sicut autem regimen regis est optimum, ita regimen tyranni est pessimum" (Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.4.1 [1.3], Leonine edition, 452.1–2).

[16] "Si igitur regnum, quod est optimum regimen, maxime uitandum uideatur propter tyrannidem, tyrannis autem non minus, sed magis contingere solet in regimine plurium quam unius . . ." (ibid. 1.6.4 [1.5], Leonine edition, 454.51–455.55).

[17] ". . . sicut refert Salustius, 'incredibile est memoratu quantum adepta libertate in breui Romana ciuitas cruerit' " (ibid. 1.5.2 [1.4], Leonine edition, 453.14–16); Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 7.3.

ample of this phenomenon as well. Thomas argues that after the establishment of the Roman Empire, many of the emperors were tyrants.[18]

Thomas states that three steps should be taken to prevent a kingship from degenerating into a tyranny:

> But first it is necessary by means of those to whom this duty pertains that a man of such condition be promoted to be king, who would not be likely to sink into tyranny. . . . Then the government of the kingdom is to be so arranged that the occasion of tyranny be removed from the already appointed king. . . . Yet at the same time his power should be tempered, so that he cannot easily sink into tyranny. . . .[19]

It is not entirely clear how these three points should be put into practice, since Thomas does not here give examples to illustrate the latter two points. Moreover, the only example of the first point is a reference to the prophet Samuel, who praises God's choice of a king.[20]

In the *Summa theologiae* Thomas argues that a mixed constitution is the best form of lordship.[21] The government of ancient Israel exemplifies this form, where there was one leader who was advised by a virtuous few. Moreover, the multitude had some choice in determining their rulers. Thomas's preference for the mixed government may help to explain his meaning in the three guidelines for the prevention of tyranny that we find in the *De regimine*. Nevertheless, it is not clear that his political thought is entirely consistent.[22] For example, in the *Summa theologiae* Thomas also argues that the king is above the law.[23] How

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[18] Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.5.2–5 [1.4] (Leonine edition, 453.7–455.51).

[19] "Primum autem est necessarium ut talis condicionis homo, ab illis ad quos hoc spectat officium, promoueatur in regem, quem non sit probabile in tyrannidem declinare. . . . Deinde sic disponenda est regni gubernatio ut regi iam instituto tyrannidis subtrahatur occasio. Simul etiam sic eius temperetur potestas ut in tyrannidem de facili declinare non possit . . ." (ibid. 1.7.2 [1.6], Leonine edition, 455.7–18). Cf. Fortescue, *Governance* 1.

[20] ". . . unde Samuel Dei prouidentiam erga institutionem regis commendans ait 'Quesiuit sibi Dominus uirum secundum cor suum, et precepit ei Dominus ut esset dux super populum suum' " (Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.7.2 [1.6], Leonine edition, 455.10–14); 1 Sam 13:14.

[21] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* [*ST*] 1-2.105.1. For a discussion of Thomas's mixed regime, see Marcel Demongeot, *Le meilleur régime politique selon saint Thomas* (Paris, 1928); Blythe, "The Mixed Constitution and the Distinction between Regal and Political Power in the Work of Thomas Aquinas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47 (1986): 547–65; and idem, *Ideal Government*, 39–59.

[22] For the different interpretations of Thomas's political theory, see Blythe, *Ideal Government*, 40 n. 2. Dondaine states that the *De regno* should be used with discretion as a guide to Thomas's thought (preface to the Leonine edition, 424).

[23] "Est etiam princeps supra legem, inquantum, si expediens fuerit potest legem mutare, et in ea dispensare, pro loco et tempore" (*ST* 1-2.96.5 ad 3). For law and sovereignty in Tho-

can the powers of the king be constrained if not by law? It will be seen that Fortescue makes an important advance by arguing that in certain types of kingdoms not even the king is above the law.

<div style="text-align:center">II</div>

In this second section, it will be shown how Ptolemy differs from Thomas by identifying royal lordship with despotic lordship, and then recognizing this lordship's legitimacy when it is exercised over a bad populace. Ptolemy's portion of the *De regimine* argues that the best lordship is political only, and not royal.[24] We will show (1) how Ptolemy uses his experience of the Italian city-state to characterize a political lordship; (2) how he criticizes royal lordship; and (3) that he does make room for a combination of both forms in an imperial lordship, although the imperial lordship is generally inferior to purely political lordship and is different from the combination of political and royal lordship found in John Fortescue's description of the lordship exercised by the English king.[25]

In book 4 of the *De regimine*, Ptolemy argues that the word "political" comes from the word "city" (*polis*), because cities have political rule. At his time the Italian cities primarily exemplify this kind of rule, but it is also found in cities which lie in other regions. Although these latter cities may be nominally under the rule of a king or emperor, they are in fact self-governing. Ptol-

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mas, see Thomas Gilby, *The Political Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Chicago, 1958), 191–202; Blythe, "Mixed Constitution," 66; and idem, *Ideal Government*, 49.

[24] Thomas Aquinas's central discussions of royal and political lordship do not occur in the *De regno* but in other writings. Ptolemy of Lucca was aware of these discussions, although Fortescue was not. As Thomas describes it, the political ruler is bound by law, whereas the royal ruler is not. For references, see nn. 76–77 below. Also for Thomas's position, see Blythe, "Mixed Constitution," 550–53, and *Ideal Government*, 44–45.

[25] For Ptolemy's political theory, see Blythe, *Ideal Government*, 92–117, and his introduction to *On the Government of Rulers*, 7–52; also instructive is Struve, *Die Entwicklung*, 165–78. For Ptolemy and his contemporaries on ancient Rome, see Charles T. Davis, "Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118 (1974): 30–50. For Ptolemy and the medieval political tradition, see Edward P. Mahoney, "From the Medievals to the Early Moderns: Themes and Problems in Renaissance Political Thought," in *Moral and Political Philosophies in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy, Ottawa, 17–22 August 1992*, ed. B. Carlos Bázan, Eduardo Andújar, and Léonard G. Sbrocchi, 3 vols. (New York, 1995), 1:195. For liberty and republicanism in medieval Italian city-states, see John Hine Mundy, "In Praise of Italy: The Italian Republics," *Speculum* 64 (1989): 815–34; and Ronald Witt, "The Rebirth of the Concept of Republican Liberty in Italy," in *Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Florence, 1971), 173–99.

emy also states that Athens and the Roman Republic were similarly ruled.[26] In general, cities provide the necessary conditions for the best type of human life.

Ptolemy's preference for cities is shown in that his argument for the necessity of cities in book 4 follows in large part the argument in book 1 that Thomas gives for the necessity of government.[27] Both argue that human society is necessary because humans, unlike the beasts, are not born with a natural ability to live by themselves. Thomas argues that a monarchy best supplies this need for government. In contrast, Ptolemy concludes from this same argument, "From all these things it is to be concluded that the city is necessary to man [and] should be established for the sake of the community of the multitude, without which man is not able to live decently."[28] Ptolemy argues from the premiss that humans need each other in order to survive to the far stronger conclusion that humans need cities in order to flourish.

Ptolemy is aware that his conclusion from the argument differs from the conclusion that Thomas Aquinas had drawn, although he presents his case as if both conclusions are consistent. It is worthwhile to reproduce Ptolemy's passage in full:

> But it should be observed that above, in the beginning of the first book, it was proven that human society is necessary, and here in like fashion [it has been proven], but in different ways in both places, since there according as it is ordered to the prince, here according as the parts of the multitude are necessary in relation to one another, for which reason cities and walled-in towns are necessarily instituted as they are ordered towards political government.[29]

In book 1 Thomas emphasizes that a monarchy is the best government for providing the unified society that humans require to live. In book 4 Ptolemy emphasizes the need that different parts of society have for each other. Since Ptolemy emphasizes the necessity of cooperation among the different parts of society, he concludes that the political participation found in cities best serves this purpose.

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[26] Ptolemy of Lucca, *De regimine principum* 4.1.2 [175]. Ptolemy's emphasis on the city reflects not only his background and political interests, but perhaps also a closer following of Aristotle.

[27] Ibid. 4.2. For the parallel argument in Thomas Aquinas and Fortescue, see n. 10 above.

[28] "Ex quibus omnibus concluditur civitatem esse necessariam homini constituendam propter communitatem multitudinis sine qua homo vivere decenter non potest . . ." (ibid. 4.2.8 [180], ed. Perrier, 366).

[29] "Advertendum autem quod superius in principio primi libri probatum est societatem humanam esse necessariam et hic similiter, sed aliter et aliter utrobique, quia ibi secundum quod ordinatur ad principem, hic autem secundum quod partes multitudinis sibi invicem sunt necessariae, propter quam causam necessario sunt institutae civitates et castra prout ordinantur ad politicum regimen" (ibid. 4.2.9 [180], ed. Perrier, 366).

What are the characteristic features of this political government? In book 2 Ptolemy interprets Aristotle as saying that all forms of rule can be reduced to the political and despotic.[30] A characteristic mark of the political rule is that it is mild. Since the rulers are temporary, under political rule the long-term oppression of subjects is unlikely. It also seems that many subjects take part in such a rule. Ptolemy writes, "Likewise in regard to the same, the confidence of the subjects, whether from being released from the lordship of kings or from exercising lordship at the suitable time, makes them bold for liberty lest they submit their necks to kings."[31] Moreover, the rulers in a political government are paid for their services, and so they do not use their rule to extract money from their subjects.

In this discussion, Ptolemy assumes that political lordship differs from its royal counterpart in that political rulers have no motive to prefer their own interest to the good of the multitude. Thomas was concerned to limit the power of the king in order to ensure that the king works for the public good. Ptolemy thinks that political lordship by its very nature serves the good of the community precisely because it does not have a king but instead temporary and paid rulers.

At the end of this discussion, Ptolemy mentions that in a political government law is more important than the will of the ruler. In this discussion Ptolemy uses a maxim of civil law to show that rulers who hold royal lordship, "not being obligated by the laws, may judge by what is in the heart of the ruler."[32] Moreover, in book 4 Ptolemy describes royal lordship in terms of a maxim that will also be important for Fortescue: *et pro se lege habetur quod principi placet, sicut jura gentium tradunt.*[33] In royal government, what pleases the prince is held to be the law of the people. In contrast, rulers holding political lordship are bound by the law so that they do not have the freedom to act in accordance with their own prudence. In book 2 Ptolemy argues that the rule of law can fail because laws do not provide for particular circumstances, and so political rule has a weakness.[34] Nevertheless, his discussion of this

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[30] Ibid. 2.8.1 [69]; Aristotle, *Politics* 1.3 (1253b18–21). For a discussion of royal and political rule in William of Moerbeke's translation of the *Politics* and the thought of Thomas Aquinas, see n. 76 below.

[31] "Rursus ad idem, confidentia subditorum, sive de exoneratione dominii regentium sive dominandi in suo tempore congruo, reddit ipsos ad libertatem audaces ne colla submittant regentibus . . ." (Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 2.8.5 [71], ed. Perrier, 285).

[32] "Et inde sequitur in regimine politico diminutio, quia legibus solum rector politicus judicat populum, quod per regale dominium suppletur dum, non legibus obligatus, per eam censeat quae est in pectore principis . . ." (ibid. 2.8.6 [72], ed. Perrier, 285).

[33] Ibid. 4.1.3 [176]. For legal sources, see Blythe's translation, *On the Government of Rulers*, 217 n. 12. For Fortescue, see n. 93 below.

[34] Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 2.8.6 [72].

weakness of political rule is followed by his characterization of royal lordship as despotic. When freed from the law to act according to his own judgment, the ruler will prefer his own good to the good of his people.

This subjection of the ruler to law in political lordship implies that law has its source in the multitude, or at least in a wide body of individuals. Following his discussion of law, Ptolemy uses the Book of Maccabees to show that the Roman Republic was political by reason of its system of consultation. He writes, "Whence in 1 Maccabees it is written concerning the Romans that they 'made a Senate' and that 'daily they consulted with the 320, always taking counsel concerning the multitude so that they might produce those things that are worthy.' "[35] Political lordship implies that the ruler has to take into account the advice of his subjects.

In book 2 Ptolemy uses the Book of Samuel to provide an example of royal lordship, in which rulers oppress the people. He quotes Samuel's description of a king:

> He will take away your sons and place them in his chariots and he will make for himself chariots and horsemen and runners before the chariot drivers, and he will establish ploughmen for his fields and reapers of grain and smiths for his armor; also he will make your daughters kitchen-maids, perfumers, and bread-bakers.[36]

In this passage the king clearly uses his power for his own benefit. Whereas Thomas uses the prophet Samuel to show the necessity of choosing a king who will not become a tyrant, Ptolemy uses the same prophet to identify kings with tyrants. Ptolemy claims that the biblical account in 1 Samuel shows how political rule is preferable to monarchy.

How does Ptolemy's use of the prophet Samuel here relate to Thomas's description of monarchy and use of Samuel in book 1? Ptolemy writes, "Nevertheless, the opposite of this has been shown above."[37] How could book 1 argue for a monarchy while book 2 contains two claims which are entirely inconsistent with Thomas's unequivocal rejection of tyranny as a legitimate form of government?

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[35] "Unde in I Machab. scribitur de Romanis quod *curiam fecerunt* et quod *quotidie consulebant trecentos viginti, consilium agentes semper de multitudine ut quae digna sunt gerant*" (ibid. 4.1.4 [176], ed. Perrier, 362); 1 Mach 8:15.

[36] "*Filios vestros tollet et ponet in curribus suis, facietque sibi currus et equites et praecursores quadrigarum suarum, et constituet aratores agrorum suorum et messores segetum ac fabros armorum suorum ; filias quoque vestras faciet sibi focarias, unguentarias ac panificas . . .*" (Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 2.9.2 [73], ed. Perrier, 286); 1 Sam 8:6–13.

[37] ". . . cujus tamen superius contrarium est ostensum" (Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 2.9.3 [73], ed. Perrier, 286).

First, Ptolemy approves of tyranny in some cases. He thinks that monarchy is the best form of government only when the public is bad and needs to be oppressed. This position may reflect a heavy Augustinian influence on Ptolemy's political thought.[38] Royal lordship is necessary on account of human corruption. Such lordship did not exist before the Fall, that is, in the state of innocence. Ptolemy writes, "Therefore, the rod of discipline, which everyone fears, and the rigor of justice are necessary in the governance of the world, because through them the people and the uneducated multitude are better ruled . . . . Therefore with respect to this regal lordship excels."[39] The argument of book 1 is reinterpreted as stating that monarchy is the best form of government only in the sense that it allows for more effective punishment of the bad.

Ptolemy does not think that tyrants are good individuals who act virtuously in oppressing their subjects. He explains, "Whence it is concluded that they [tyrants] are an instrument of God, just as the demons are also, whose power is held to be just by the sacred doctors, even though their will is always unjust (*iniquus*)."[40] Tyrants exercise legitimate authority that is granted to them by God for vengeance, even though the tyrant does not intentionally carry out God's justice on the wicked populace. In book 1 of the *De regimine* Thomas argues that tyranny is the worst form of government because the tyrant acts only for his own advantage. In book 3 Ptolemy argues that since the tyrant's self-seeking inflicts injury on the population, God grants to tyrants a legitimate royal lordship over those who need to be punished.

Ptolemy's second reason for explaining how regal lordship can be legitimate involves an appeal to astrology.[41] Since the Romans, and presumably the people of the Italian city-states, perhaps do not need punishment as much as other peoples do, Ptolemy thinks that royal lordship is not suited to them. It is the stars and the climate that make a group of people fit for political lordship. The Franks and the Germans always were suited to despotic rule because of the stars which influenced their part of the world. On the other hand, the Romans and the Athenians were suited to political rule because they were under different stars. Ptolemy concludes his argument for the legitimacy of royal governments with this discussion of astrology and states, "Therefore it is evident

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[38] Blythe (introduction to *On the Government of Rulers*, 24–30) argues that Ptolemy's approval of a punishing monarch is an Augustinian position which is in tension with the Aristotelian aspect of Ptolemy's thought. See also idem, *Ideal Government*, 101–7.

[39] "Virga ergo disciplinae, quam quilibet timet, et rigor justitiae sunt necessaria in gubernatione mundi, quia per ea populus et indocta multitudo melius regitur. . . . Ergo quantum ad hoc excellit regale dominium" (Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 2.9.5 [74], ed. Perrier, 287).

[40] "Unde concluditur ipsos esse instrumentum Dei sicut et daemones, quorum potestas justa a sacris doctoribus ponitur, voluntas tamen semper iniqua" (ibid. 3.7.3 [118], ed. Perrier, 320).

[41] Ibid. 2.8.4 [71]; 2.9.6 [75].

by what considerations I place a polity before a kingdom and royal lordship before a polity."[42] At this point Ptolemy has clearly departed from the political thought of Thomas Aquinas.

The central problem presented by Thomas in book 1 is how to prevent the king from becoming a tyrant. Ptolemy changes the very nature of the problem by identifying the king with the tyrant, and then showing how tyrannical rule can be justified. Before looking at Fortescue's approach to the problem that was presented by Thomas, it will be useful to look at Ptolemy's description of imperial lordship, which has aspects of both political and royal lordship.

Ptolemy lists three ways in which imperial lordship is like political lordship: the emperor is elected; he can come from the common people; and his lordship does not pass on to his descendants.[43] The first and third points probably follow from Ptolemy's position that in political government the rule is temporary and bound by decisions of the multitude. It is not clear how the second point about the social origin of the king is related to his earlier discussion of political government. Granted that later Roman emperors came from diverse social backgrounds, Ptolemy may also have in mind either the actual practice of Italian cities or the mixed constitution of the Hebrews described in Thomas's *Summa*.[44]

Ptolemy also lists three ways in which imperial lordship is like royal lordship: the emperor can impose taxes freely and act as he wills, he has a crown, and he is above the law.[45] The first point about the ability of the emperor to act according to his will resembles Ptolemy's earlier discussion about the law being found in the king's heart, which is precisely the distinguishing mark of the third criterion, namely that the emperor is not bound by the law. Since this third criterion carries so much weight as a description of the similarity of imperial to royal lordship, it should be quoted in full:

> The third thing that emperors have in common with kings and [whereby they] differ from consuls or political rulers is in the establishing of laws and the arbitrary power that they have over subjects in the aforesaid cases.[46]

Ptolemy mentions that political rulers are bound by laws which come from tradition or the "decision of the people" (*arbitrium populi*). Imperial government differs widely from political government in its legal system.

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[42] "Patet igitur qua consideratione politiam regno et regale dominium politiae praeponimus" (ibid. 2.9.6 [75]).

[43] Ibid. 3.20.1 [162].

[44] *ST* 1-2.105.1.

[45] Ptolemy, *De regimine principum* 3.20.4–7 [164].

[46] "Tertia vero convenientia quam imperatores habent cum regibus et differunt a consulibus sive rectoribus politicis est institutio legum et arbitraria potestas quam habent super subditos in dictis casibus" (ibid. 3.20.7 [164], ed. Perrier, 355).

What is Ptolemy's attitude toward imperial lordship? In many passages he criticizes Caesar for having established the Roman Empire. Moreover, the emperor is not limited by law and prevented from becoming a tyrant, and he wears a crown like a king. How is Ptolemy's discussion of imperial government related to Thomas's guidelines for monarchy presented in book 1? As was explained above, Thomas suggests three ways to prevent the king from become a tyrant. The first method requires the choice of a king who would not be likely to become a tyrant, and imperial government does make room for the choice of a good ruler. However, Thomas's second and third points, which suggest that the king's powers be tempered and limited, are not found in Ptolemy's description of imperial government. Ptolemy uses the notion of royal and political lordship only as a historical description of the Roman Empire and not as a combination of the best characteristics of royal lordship with those of political lordship. For Ptolemy, purely political lordship is the best form of government for a virtuous people.

In his portion of the *De regimine principum,* Ptolemy never adequately addresses Thomas's attempt in book 1 to argue for a limited monarchy. Instead, Ptolemy identifies royal lordship with despotic lordship. Since Ptolemy is aware that Thomas argues for monarchy in the first book of the work that he is continuing, Ptolemy does make room for royal lordship, but only by justifying tyranny in some cases. Moreover, he changes Thomas's arguments for the superiority of monarchy to argue instead for the necessity of the type of polity found in the Italian cities with which he was familiar.

III

John Fortescue, a Chief Justice of England, based his political philosophy in large part on the *De regimine principum* of Thomas Aquinas and Ptolemy of Lucca. He is widely known for his theory of a mixed political and royal lordship that is exemplified by English law. It will be shown that he draws on English law as it existed in fifteenth-century English feudal society to address Thomas's problem of how to prevent the king from becoming a tyrant. First, the influence of his historical setting will be discussed. Then we will see how he uses his experience of English law to advocate a political and royal government that retains the benefits of monarchy while at the same time limiting the monarch's ability to become a tyrant.

English feudal practice was based on a consensual agreement between a lord and a vassal.[47] This emphasis on consent heavily influenced late medieval con-

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[47] For the historical and legal background of Fortescue's thought, see Doe, *Fundamental*

ceptions of law. We have seen Ptolemy of Lucca's argument that the characteristic mark of a king is that he is not bound by laws. In England, the king's power was originally limited by his agreements with the barons. In later developments this agreement was extended to the entire community. Norman Doe writes, "It was from the starting point of baronial involvement in making legislation, the essence of feudal practice (whose focus was the joint effort of king and barons), that the gradual widening of participation was achieved during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to embrace the whole *communitas regni*."[48] Law required both the consent of the king and the consent of the people. Consequently, English political theorists like Henry Bracton and John Fortescue had a conception of kingship that was much more limited than the conception of a king's powers held by Ptolemy.

Moreover, Fortescue's involvement with the House of Lancaster during the War of the Roses caused him to grapple with the problem of succession.[49] In his *Defensio iuris domus Lancastriae*, Fortescue gives two examples to show that when there is no clear heir, Parliament must elect a successor.[50] Henry I (1100–1135) died without leaving a male heir. According to Fortescue, Parliament elected his nephew Stephen (1135–54) to be king, and upon Stephen's death it elected Henry II (1154–89).[51] Moreover, according to Fortescue the

Authority, 7–32. For the English legal background, also see Brian Tierney, "Bracton on Government," *Speculum* 38 (1963): 295–317 (rpt. in idem, *Chruch Law and Constitutional Thought in the Middle Ages* [London, 1979]); Cary J. Nederman, "Bracton on Kingship Revisited," *History of Political Thought* 5 (1984): 61–77 (rpt. in idem, *Medieval Aristotelianism and its Limits: Classical Traditions in Moral and Political Philosophy, 12th–15th Centuries* [London, 1997]); and Norman Doe, "Fifteenth-Century Concepts of Law: Fortescue and Pecock," *History of Political Thought* 10 (1989): 257–80. Fortescue was not directly influenced by Bracton since Bracton's popularity "was at its lowest ebb in the fifteenth century" (Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas*, 324; and see 324–27). For the influence of English feudalism, see David Starkey, "Which Age of Reform?" in *Revolution Reassessed: Revision in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, ed. Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (Oxford, 1986), 21–22.

[48] Doe, *Fundamental Authority*, 11.

[49] For the Lancastrian background to Fortescue's thought, see Max Adams Shepard, "The Political and Constitutional Theory of Sir John Fortescue," in *Essays in History and Political Theory: In Honor of Charles Howard McIlwain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 289–319; and Paul E. Gill, "Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century England: The Polemical Writings of Sir John Fortescue," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 333–47.

[50] Fortescue, *Defensio iuris domus Lancastriae*, in *Works*, 505–16. See Doe, *Fundamental Authority*, 9–10; and Gill, "Politics and Propaganda," 342–46.

[51] ". . . Stephanum Comitem de Bloys et de Boulogne . . . in Regem Angliae eligerunt. . . . Qui quidem Stephanus sic communi consensu regni electus unctus erat, et in Regem Angliae coronatus . . ." (Fortescue, *Defensio* 1, in *Works*, 505). Although Fortescue later retracts the historical claim about Stephen, he does not reject the principle; see *The Declaracion upon Certain Wrytinges*, in *Works*, 538.

Yorkist Edward IV (1461–70; 1471–83) was not a legitimate king because he had by oath relinquished his claim in front of Parliament and the convocation of clerics, which possess the highest authority (*quae maximae auctoritatis sunt*).[52] In addition, the Lancastrian kings Henry IV (1413–22) and Henry VI (1422–61; 1470–71) ruled by the assent and consent of the whole realm.[53]

The argument that the king's power is based on the consent of the realm and sometimes even the election of Parliament is not limited to Fortescue's purely polemical writings but is also found in his *De natura legis naturae*. Fortescue argues at length here that a female cannot inherit the throne of England. Consequently, whenever there is no male heir, Parliament must elect the king.[54] Ptolemy of Lucca states that the election of rulers is a characteristic mark of political and imperial governments. In fifteenth-century England, under normal circumstances the king was not elected but hereditary. Nevertheless, the ability of Parliament to elect a king when there were no clear heirs made it clear to the English political theorist that even the hereditary king holds his power only by consent of the realm.

Parliament's primary purpose was not to elect kings but to make laws and give counsel. In the *De natura* Fortescue makes it clear that the king can impose laws and taxes only with the consent of Parliament: "For in the kingdom of England the kings make not laws, nor impose subsidies on their subjects, without the consent of the Three Estates of the realm. . . ."[55] In the *De laudibus legum Anglie* Fortescue makes this point even more clearly. Parliament can amend the laws, and the king cannot change the laws "without the concession or assent of his whole realm expressed in his parliament."[56] Ptolemy of Lucca had argued that the king is under the law only in the political government. In royal and imperial lordship, the law is in the ruler's heart. According to Fortescue's understanding of English political practice, the English king is under the law as established by both himself and Parliament, which expresses the consent of the people. However, James L. Gillespie argues that according to Fortescue the prince who exercises royal and political lordship is limited only by "the

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[52] Fortescue, *Defensio* 5, in *Works*, 510.

[53] ". . . communi consensu et assensu totius regni . . ." (ibid. 4, in *Works*, 509).

[54] "Igitur dum regnum de quo certamus hoc processu descendere nequit ab avo in nepotem, maxime dum viret parens ejus, et avi filiam illud contingere prohibet natura, quo ab illa in filium illud descendere non poterit, sequitur quod, dum avus exitum alium non habeat, regnicolae regionis suae ad eligendum novum regem procedere debeant, qualiter policiae regulis facere solent subditi, quotiens eorum rex sine herede aliquo moriatur" (Fortescue, *De natura* 2.35, in *Works*, 153).

[55] Ibid. 1.16 (see n. 64 below).

[56] ". . . sine concessione vel assensu tocius regni sui in parliamento suo" (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 36, ed. Chrimes, 86; trans. Lockwood, 52).

prince's own sweet pleasure."[57] Who had the authority to restrain a law-breaking king?[58]

Gillespie bases his claim partly on the research of Charles McIlwain and S. B. Chrimes, who argue that in the fifteenth-century there were no real constitutional limits on the kings's power.[59] Nevertheless, Chrimes and McIlwain also emphasize the importance of custom as a real contraint on the will of a fifteenth-century king. Other and more recent scholarship has emphasized that the fifteenth-century parliaments did have real political power. J. S. Roskell notes that the fifteenth-century parliaments interfered with the government much more than the Tudor parliaments were able to do. The seventeenth-century lawyers were therefore correct to use fifteenth-century parliaments as an example of an institutional limitation on the king's power.[60] R. W. K. Hinton argues against McIlwain and Chrimes that Fortescue and other early thinkers held beliefs about the power of Parliament which were "quite close to nineteenth-century ideas."[61] Most recently, A. R. Myers has shown that ". . . the whole trend of fifteenth-century development was for the necessary participation of king, lords and commons in parliamentary acts."[62] Gillespie's view neglects the historical role of Parliament in limiting the king's power.

Max Adams Shepards argues that Parliament was not the only organization that limited the king's authority. The king could also be limited by "an effectively re-organized privy council, the courts, and the jury system."[63] The importance of judges has not been emphasized in the scholarly literature. Fortescue twice mentions that judges must take an oath to disobey any king's order that violates the law.[64] Fortescue himself refused to obey Henry VI's or-

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[57] James L. Gillespie, "Sir John Fortescue's Concept of Royal Will," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23 (1979): 64.

[58] For the problem, see Arthur B. Ferguson, "Fortescue and the Renaissance: A Study in Transition," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 191; this discussion is reproduced in idem, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham, N.C., 1965), 126–27.

[59] Gillespie "Sir John Fortescue's Concept of Royal Will," 47–48.

[60] J. S. Roskell, "Perspectives in English Parliamentary History," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 46 (1964): 448–75.

[61] R. W. K. Hinton, "English Constitutional Doctrines from the Fifteenth Century to the Seventeenth: I. English Constitutional Theories from Sir John Fortescue to Sir John Eliot," *The English Historical Review* 75 (1960): 421.

[62] A. R. Myers, "Parliament, 1422–1509," in *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages,* ed. R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (Philadelphia, 1981), 149; for the whole discussion, see 141–84. See also Doe, "Fifteenth-Century Concepts of Law," 258–61, and *Fundamental Authority,* 7–32.

[63] Shepard, "Political and Constitutional Theory," 313; and see 307 n. 58, listing the following texts of Fortescue which show how the king's power is limited: *De natura* 1.22, 24, 26; *De laudibus* 9, 13, 26; *Governance* 2, 9.

[64] "In regno namque Angliae reges sine Trium Statuum Regni illius consensu leges non

ders to release a prisoner. Henry VI complained, ". . . ye said John ffortescu hath do us to understande, that he hath no pouair so to do in any wise. . . ."[65] Clearly in Fortescue's thought the disobedience of judges could be a real restraint on the king's will.

Although he does not recognize the real limitations on the king's power, Gillespie does have a point in emphasizing that for Fortescue a primary purpose of Parliament is not to check the king's will but rather to provide the king with counsel.[66] But after Parliament gives counsel the law is enacted by both the king and Parliament. Fortescue argues that Parliament functions like the Roman Senate. The laws of England are wise because they come from the combined prudence of more than three hundred members of Parliament:

> Furthermore, it must be supposed that they [English statutes] are necessarily replete with prudence and wisdom, since they are promulgated by the prudence not of one counsellor or of a hundred only, but of more than three hundred chosen men—of such a number as the Senate of the Romans was once ruled by. . . .[67]

Fortescue would have learned from Ptolemy's reference to Maccabees that there were 320 Roman senators. The role of Parliament in electing and advising a king and in making law was a major factor of the historical situation in which Fortescue lived. His discussion of royal and political lordship as a preventative to the danger of tyranny reflects his historical experience.

Fortescue follows Ptolemy of Lucca and Thomas Aquinas in distinguishing between political and royal lordship, although his main criteria for this distinction involves the supremacy of law and the participation of the multitude. Like Ptolemy, Fortescue states that in a regal lordship the law is whatever pleases the prince, whereas in political lordship the king is subject to the law.[68] More-

condunt, nec subsidia imponunt subditis suis; sed et judices regni illius ne ipsi contra leges terrae, quamvis mandata principis ad contrarium audierint, judicia reddant, omnes suis astringuntur sacramentis" (Fortescue, *De natura* 1.16, in *Works,* 77 [also printed by Chrimes, 152]; trans. Lockwood, 128); "Sciendum . . . quod iusticiarius iste inter cetera tunc iurabit quod iusticiam ministrabit indifferenter omnibus hominibus coram eo placitantibus inimicis et amicis, nec sic facere defferet eciam si rex per literas suas aut oretenus contrarium iusserit" (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 51, ed. Chrimes, 126; trans. Lockwood, 74).

[65] Lord Clermont, "Life of Sir John Fortescue," in *Works,* 10. See also *De laudibus,* ed. Chrimes, 204, note to line 28.

[66] Gillespie, "Sir John Fortescue's Concept of Royal Will," 56–57.

[67] "Prudencia eciam et sapiencia necessario ipsa esse referta putandum est, dum non unius aut centum solum consultorum virorum prudencia, sed plusquam trecentorum electorum hominum, quali numero olim senatus Romanorum regebatur . . ." (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 18, ed. Chrimes, 40; trans. Lockwood, 27–28 [modified]).

[68] See also *De natura* 1.12, 13; *De laudibus* 9, 12, 13, 14; *Governance* 2, 3. For Ptolemy, see n. 31 above.

over, political lordship involves participation by the many, whereas in regal lordship the king alone rules. Fortescue's innovation is in his description of the royal and political lordship that he finds in England:

> May not, then, this dominion (*dominium*) be called political, that is to say, regulated by the administration of many, and may it not also deserve to be named royal dominion, seeing that the subjects themselves cannot make laws without the authority of the king, and the kingdom, being subject to the king's dignity, is possessed by kings and their heirs successively by hereditary right, in such manner as no dominions are possessed which are only politically regulated.[69]

In order to understand the novelty of Fortescue's position, it is helpful to consider the possible historical sources for this regal and political lordship. Felix Gilbert thinks that the *De natura* contains Fortescue's earliest description of the royal and political lordship, and that this description reflects Ptolemy of Lucca's imperial lordship. According to Gilbert, the *De laudibus legum Angliae* and *The Governance of England* are later works which retain the terminology of a royal and political lordship although the meaning of this lordship has changed so as to apply solely to England.[70] Gilbert's position is problematic both in its reading of the *De natura* and in its dating of the texts.

Gilbert's interpretation misreads Fortescue. The above passage from the *De natura* describes a lordship clearly different from the imperial government of Ptolemy, in which the multitude choose a ruler who is not bound by law. In Fortescue's royal and political England, the king is primarily hereditary and he is bound by laws which come from the consent of both himself and the multitude.

It must be admitted that in *De natura* Fortescue does state that the Roman Empire was royal and political because it had characteristics of both types of government. Nevertheless, J. H. Burns notes that in the *De natura* Fortescue primarily uses the English government as an example of mixed lordship. As Burns argues, Fortescue discusses the Roman Empire only after discussing the English government, probably "in order to maintain at least some relevance for his references to what he found in 'Aquinas' (Ptolemy of Lucca)."[71]

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[69] "Numquid tunc hoc dominium *politicum*, id est plurium dispensatione regulatum, dici possit, verum etiam et *regale* dominium nominari mereatur, cum nec ipsi subditi sine regia auctoritate leges condere valeant, et cum regnum illud regiae dignitati suppositum per reges et eorum heredes successive hereditario jure possideatur, qualiter non possidentur dominia aliqua politice tantum regulata" (Fortescue, *De natura* 1.16, in *Works*, 77 [also printed by Chrimes, 152]; trans. Lockwood, 128–29).

[70] Gilbert, "Sir John Fortescue's *dominium regale et politicum*," esp. 90–93. For Blythe's concurrence, see n. 3 above.

[71] Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium*," 781–82.

Another problem with Gilbert's view is that it depends upon an older chro-
nology of Fortescue's works which dates the *De natura* as earlier than the
Governance. According to this chronology, the *De natura* is a defense of the
Lancastrian monarchy, whereas the *Governance* was presented to Edward IV,
after Fortescue had abandoned the Lancastrian cause. However, recent schol-
arship has shown that the reforms outlined in the *Governance* fit the 1440s and
seem anachronistic in the context of the 1470s. Consequently, the *Governance*
is probably Fortescue's earliest work.[72] A contemporary defender of Gilbert's
position that the *Governance*'s theory of lordship is a late development would
either have to reject this recent scholarship or claim that the *Governance*'s de-
scription of royal and political lordship represents a later revision of the
work.[73]

Ptolemy of Lucca is clearly not the source of Fortescue's royal and political
lordship. Burns claims that scholars have paid insufficient attention to the in-
fluence of Thomas Aquinas's other writings and Giles of Rome's own *De regi-
mine principum* on Fortescue.[74] It will be argued here that Thomas Aquinas's
other writings probably had no influence on Fortescue's theory of mixed lord-
ship. Moreover, although Giles may have influenced some of Fortescue's ter-
minology, the mixed lordship cannot be found in Giles's works.

Burns notes that in the *Summa theologiae* Thomas Aquinas uses the term
principatus politicus et regalis.[75] This terminology has its roots in William of
Moerbeke's translation of Aristotle's *Politics.*[76] There are two problems with
stating that this passage influenced John Fortescue's theory of lordship. First,
in the passage from the *Summa* Thomas is not arguing that there is a rule
which is at the same time both royal and political, but he is merely distin-
guishing both types of rule from despotic rule. Thomas's *Sententia libri politi-*

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[72] B. P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461 to 1536: An Aspect of Yorkist and Early Tudor
Government* (London and New York, 1970), 26–27; idem, *The Royal Demesne in English
History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509*
(London, 1971), 120, 227; Starkey, "Which Age of Reform?" 15–16; Burns, *Lordship, King-
ship and Empire,* 59.

[73] The latter is of course possible. Gilbert, "Sir John Fortescue's *dominium regale et
politicum,*" 96–97, argues that the *Governance* is influenced by Fortescue's exile in France.

[74] Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium,*" 778–80. Fortescue mentions
Giles in *Governance* 1 and *De natura* 1.16. In *Governance* 1 Roger of Waltham is also men-
tioned. On Waltham, see the note in *Governance,* ed. Plummer, 175: "Here again Fortescue
claims for his theories a literary sanction which does not really belong to them." I have not
had access to Waltham's works.

[75] *ST* 1.81.3 ad 2; Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium,*" 779

[76] Blythe, "Mixed Constitution," passim. For relevant passages from Aristotle, William of
Moerbeke, Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham, and Bodin, see McIlwain, *Growth of Politi-
cal Thought in the West,* 398–403.

corum provides evidence for this interpretation of the *Summa*. There Thomas explains that although the paterfamilias exercises despotic rule over his slaves, he has political and royal rule over his family. The royal and political forms of rule differ from despotic rule, but they differ from each other as well.[77] The paterfamilias has royal rule over his sons and merely political rule over his wife. At this point Thomas Aquinas mentions the importance of law. The paterfamilias has full power over his children, although his power over his wife is limited by law.[78]

How much did these passages from the *Sententia libri politicorum* and the *Summa theologiae* influence Fortescue? There is no evidence that Fortescue ever made use of the material. He does not explicitly refer to the *Sententia*, and he only discusses two or three passages from the *Summa*, which are not relevant to a mixed lordship.[79]

It is likely that Fortescue's terminology was more influenced by Giles of Rome, who departs from Thomas by more clearly emphasizing the importance of the legislator for the distinction between royal and political rule. According to Giles, the ruler in a royal government makes the law, whereas the political ruler is bound by laws which are made by the political community.[80] Although

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[77] ". . . uir enim principatur mulieri et pater filiis, non quidem sicut seruis set sicut liberis, in quo differunt hii duo principatus a principatu despotico. Secundum est quod hii duo principatus non sunt unius modi, set uir principatur mulieri politico principatu, id est sicut aliquis qui eligitur in rectorem ciuitatis preest; set pater preest filiis regali principatu" (Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri politicorum* 1.10, Leonine edition, *Opera omnia* 48 [Rome, 1971], A 113.31–38). For a discussion, see James M. Blythe, "Family, Government, and the Medieval Aristotelians," *History of Political Thought* 10 (1989): 4–7.

[78] "Et hoc ideo quia pater habet plenariam potestatem super filios sicut et rex in regno; set uir non habet plenariam potestatem super uxorem quantum ad omnia, set secundum quod exigit lex matrimonii, sicut et rector ciuitatis habet potestatem super ciues secundum statuta" (Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri politicorum* 1.10, Leonine edition, A 113.38–44; cf. ibid. 1.1a, Leonine edition, A 72.65–83). For a discussion of this issue, see Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium*," 779–80.

[79] For a discussion, see the note in *Governance*, ed. Plummer, 171–73; and Hanson, *From Kingdom to Commonwealth*, 240–41. To the best of my knowledge, Fortescue refers to *ST* 1.96.4 (perhaps also 1.96.3 and 1.92.1 ad 2) in *De natura* 1.34, 2.18, and 2.42. *ST* 1-2.91.2 is mentioned in *De natura* 1.5 and 42. In the *Declaracion* (*Works*, 532), Fortescue seems to refer to the method of the *Secunda Secundae*. The editor's references to Thomas are all problematic. For the use of Thomas in fifteenth-century legal education, see E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, revised ed. (Notre Dame, 1963), 109–11.

[80] "Civitas autem . . . duplici regimine regi potest, politico scilicet et regali. Dicitur autem quis praesse regali dominio, cum praeest secundum arbitrium et secundum leges, quas ipse instituit. Sed tunc praest regimine politico, quando non praest secundum arbitrium, nec secundum leges quas ipse instituit; sed secundum eas quas cives instituerunt" (Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum* 2.1.14 [Rome, 1556; rpt. Frankfurt am Main, 1968], fols. 154v–155r; [Rome, 1607], 260). Fortescue paraphrases this passage in *De natura* 1.16. Fortescue also

Giles differs from Thomas by stating that even in a royal government the ruler is bound by law, it should be noted that this law is of the ruler's own making.[81] In Fortescue's mixed lordship, however, both the king and the people make the laws. This understanding of legislation is prefigured neither by Thomas Aquinas nor by Giles of Rome.

Fortescue's royal and political lordship is an original English response to the problem of how to limit a king. We have seen that the mixture of royal and political elements in the English kingdom is almost reversed from the mixture found in imperial Rome. First, Ptolemy argues that imperial lordship resembles political lordship because the emperor can be elected from the people and does not claim his position by hereditary right. In contrast, Fortescue's mixed lordship as found in England is based on heredity. The king is only elected in special circumstances, and even then he must have some hereditary claim to the throne. Second, Ptolemy's imperial lordship is like a purely royal lordship because in it the ruler can tax as he wills and is above the law. In contrast, the monarch who has the royal and political lordship described by Fortescue is limited by the law and cannot tax so freely. The only similarity between the two royal and political lordships of Ptolemy and Fortescue is that both are like a royal lordship in that the ruler wears a crown. Fortescue uses his experience of English politics to show that the lordship that is least likely to degenerate into tyranny is the lordship that mixes the qualities of a royal and a political lordship in a fashion that is almost entirely different from the way in which the qualities of both lordships were combined in Ptolemy's description of the Roman Empire.

What is the advantage of England's royal and political lordship? Unlike Ptolemy, Fortescue does not think that tyrants are legitimate because God grants them power to oppress the wicked. Instead, Fortescue argues that the historical institution of a government marks it either as regal or as both political and regal.[82] Regal lordships historically came first. Fortescue thinks that

mentions Giles in *Governance* 1. For a discussion of Giles, see Blythe, "Family, Government, and the Medieval Aristotelians," 7–12, and *Ideal Government,* 60–76. For the connection between Giles and Fortescue, see Burns, "Fortescue and *Dominium,*" 779. Cf. Blythe, *Ideal Government,* 157. For the influence of Giles's *De regimine* on the English gentry, see Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum": Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275–c.1525,* Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 5 (Cambridge, 1999), 67.

[81] Blythe stresses the difference between Giles and Thomas; see "Family, Government, and the Medieval Aristotelians," 9, and *Ideal Government,* 64.

[82] See *De laudibus* 12–13; *Governance* 2; and *De natura* 1.7. Blythe, *Ideal Government,* 261, states that according to Fortescue "pure regal rule is never justified and never legitimate." Burns, *Lordship, Kingship and Empire,* 65, correctly notes that "Fortescue's evaluation of *dominium regale* is by no means simply negative and hostile." Fortescue's statements

Nimrod, who was the first recorded king, subjugated people and forced them to follow his own rule. Nimrod and the other kings established their own wills as law for the people whom they oppressed. Nevertheless, the people accepted this dominion, "thinking it better to be under the government of one, whereby they were protected from others, than to be exposed to the oppressions of all those who wished to attack them."[83] The rule of these tyrants was legitimate because it was accepted by the people as a necessary means to protection from other oppressors. In this and other passages Fortescue does not share the emphasis of Ptolemy and Thomas Aquinas on the need that humans have to live in society because it is impossible for solitary humans to live well. Fortescue's emphasis is on an original state where goods were held in common and the strongest rule.[84] A community initially had to accept a tyrant in order to protect itself.

However, in his discussion of the erection of a political community, Fortescue uses the analogy of human society to the human body that Thomas Aquinas had used to argue for a king. According to Fortescue, when people grew milder they were able to set up a kingdom for themselves:

> So a people that wills to erect itself into a kingdom or any other body politic must always set up one man for the government of that whole body, who, by analogy with a kingdom, is, from "ruling" (*a regendo*), usually called a king (*rex*). Just as in this way the physical body grows out of the embryo, regulated by one head, so the kingdom issues from the people, and exists as a body mystical, governed by one man as head.[85]

Thomas described the king as the heart, whereas Fortescue describes him as the

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on the historical origins of *dominium* are not always clear and consistent. For an excellent discussion, see Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of *Dominium*," 785–94.

[83] ". . . opportunius esse arbitrantes se unius subdi imperio quo erga alios defenderentur quam omnium eos infestare volentium oppressionibus exponi" (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 12, ed. Chrimes, 28; trans. Lockwood, 19).

[84] ". . . cum si omnia, ut antea, communia remansissent, nec in terra fuisset super homines dominatus post hominis culpam, res publica homini minus commode fuisset tractata, et pro defectu justitie humanum genus sese caede mutua lacerasset" (Fortescue, *De natura* 1.18, in *Works,* 80 [also printed by Chrimes, 156]; trans. Lockwood, 131–32).

[85] "Quare populum se in regnum aliudve corpus politicum erigere volentem semper oportet unum preficere tocius corporis illius regitivum, quem per analogiam in regno a regendo, regem nominare solitum est. Hoc ordine sicut ex embrione corpus surgit phisicum, uno capite regulatum, sic ex populo erumpit regnum, quod corpus extat misticum, uno homine ut capite gubernatum" (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 13, ed. Chrimes, 30; trans. Lockwood, 20). For the use of this organic metaphor by both Fortescue and John of Salisbury, see Cary J. Nederman, "Kings, Peers, and Parliament: Virtue and Corulership in Walter Burley's *Commentarius in VIII Libros Politicorum Aristotelis,*" *Albion* 24 (1992): 405 (rpt. in *Medieval Aristotelianism*). For John of Salisbury, see Struve, *Die Entwicklung,* 123–48; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 208 n. 42.

head. Nevertheless, the use of the analogy between the human body and the political community to argue for a monarchy is the same. On this point Fortescue is far closer to Thomas than Ptolemy is. Just as in the body we find one ruler, so it is natural to have one ruler in a political community. Fortescue argues that the distinguishing mark of the political community is that the kingdom comes from the people and not the will of the ruler alone.

This analogy of the body politic is used by Fortescue to explain the relationship between the people, the laws, and the king. Although the king is the head, the people are the blood. Just as the head of the body cannot survive without the quickening and nourishing powers of the head, so the king cannot survive without the consent of the people.[86] The law is like the sinews which bind the body together because it binds the community together. Fortescue states, "And just as the head of the physical body is unable to change its sinews, or to deny its members proper strength and the proper nourishment of blood, so a king who is head of the body politic is unable to change the laws of that body, or to deprive that same people of their own substance uninvited or against their wills."[87] The limitation on the king's power in a regal and political lordship is similar to the limitation of the head's power over the body. Here Fortescue uses his experience of English law to interpret the example of the body politic that we have already seen in Thomas Aquinas. A king is natural, but it is best for his power to be limited.

Fortescue goes so far as to identify the preservation of the law as the primary duty of the king. Thomas Aquinas had argued that in the best form of government the king acts for the good of the people. Fortescue argues that "a king of this sort is set up for the protection of the law, the subjects, and their bodies and goods, and he has power to this end issuing from the people, so that it is not permissible for him to rule his people with any other power."[88] The power of a royal and political ruler exists to protect the law that is established with the consent of the people.

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[86] Fortescue's discussion of the body analogy emphasizes the role of the people. For the contrast between Fortescue and Terrevermeille on the use of this metaphor, see Burns, *Lordship, Kingship and Empire,* 69–70.

[87] "Et ut non potest caput corporis phisici nervos suos commutare, neque membris suis proprias vires et propria sanguinis alimenta denegare, nec rex qui caput corporis politici est, mutare potest leges corporis illius, nec eiusdem populi substancias proprias subtrahere reclamantibus eius aut invitis" (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 13, ed. Chrimes, 30–32; trans. Lockwood, 21).

[88] ". . . ad tutelam namque legis subditorum ac eorum corporum et bonorum rex huiusmodi rectus est, et hanc potestatem a populo effluxam ipse habet, quo ei non licet potestate alia suo populo dominari" (ibid., ed. Chrimes, 32; trans. Lockwood, 22); following Clermont's edition, I have used "hanc potestatem" instead of Chrimes's "ad hanc potestatem."

This emphasis on the importance of law and the consent of the people is also used by Fortescue to explain the political histories of different peoples. Whereas Ptolemy of Lucca uses the stars to explain how different areas retain the same political structure, Fortescue argues that laws provide this stability.[89] Fortescue thinks that the laws of England were established by Brutus (not Caesar's Brutus, but an earlier one) long before the founding of the Roman or Venetian Republics.[90] The Romans even refused to impose their own laws on England because they recognized the superiority of English law. Since that time, Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans have all had possession of England. Nevertheless, the English laws have preserved the same regal and political rule under all of them. Fortescue argues that these laws have also preserved England's economic stability by preventing the English king from impoverishing the citizens through taxes.

Ptolemy uses the stars and climate to explain why France has always been under tyrannical rule, and he invokes Julius Caesar in support of his claim that the French have always been the type of people who are fit to suffer oppression.[91] Interestingly, one of Caesar's comments about Gaul is that most of its inhabitants are impoverished servants.[92] Fortescue also thinks that the French have a tyrannical rule, which he sees as cloaking itself under the title of regal rule. However, Fortescue attributes this tyranny to the French's adherence to civil law, where "what pleased the prince has the force of law."[93] Kings like Louis IX ruled wisely, but after the Hundred Year's War subsequent kings had no check on their tyranny over the common people. Fortescue explains,

> And because the commons there, though they have grumbled, have not rebelled or dared to rebel, the French kings have every year since set such charges upon

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[89] Fortescue, *De laudibus* 35–37.

[90] *De laudibus* 13, 17. For the history of Brutus and his successors, see, e.g. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*. For Fortescue's sources, see Lockwood, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, 22 n. 81 and 86 n. 17.

[91] Ptolemy mentions the Franks only briefly, in *De regimine principum* 2.9.6 (75).

[92] "In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos" (Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War* 6.13, Loeb Classical Library [London, 1917], 334).

[93] Fortescue, *Governance* 4 (Lockwood, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, 91); see also *De laudibus* 9 and 34. For Bracton's attitude toward this principle, see Tierney, "Bracton on Government." For Fortescue's comparison of England with France, see Ferguson, "Fortescue and the Renaissance," 186–89; Cary J. Nederman, "Aristotle as Authority: Alternative Aristotelian Sources of Late Mediaeval Political Theory," *History of European Ideas* 8 (1987): 39–41 (rpt. in *Medieval Aristotelianism*).

them, and have so augmented the same charges, that the same commons are so impoverished and destroyed, that they can barely live.[94]

In England, the common law prevents the king from exercising his authority in such fashion. Unlike Ptolemy, Fortescue argues that the sharp division between the poor and the very rich in France results not from the stars and the climate, but instead from deficiencies in French law.[95]

Ptolemy thought that the ruler who is subject to law is less powerful than the king who exercises purely regal lordship. In contrast, Fortescue argues that the English king's regal and political lordship does not limit his power, since it primarily prevents the king from sinning.[96] In addition, Fortescue writes, "Wherefore to be able to sin is not power or liberty, no more than to be able to grow old or to be physically corrupted, nor can he who has the power to sin be called powerful *simpliciter,* on account of the contrary contained in the adjunct, no more than a dead man can be called a man *simpliciter.*"[97] Since the power to sin is not power in a real sense, the English laws do not make the king less powerful; they merely prevent him from using his power for tyrannical purposes.

We are now in the position to draw our first conclusion, which is that Fortescue's description of royal and political lordship is an ingenious and sympathetic response to Thomas's attempt in book 1 of the *De regimine principum* to institute guidelines that would prevent the king from becoming a tyrant. Although Fortescue thought that Ptolemy of Lucca's portion of the *De regimine principum* was written by Thomas Aquinas, he does not follow Ptolemy into thinking that all kings are despotic, and therefore the best form of government is purely political. When there is a royal heir, Fortescue rejects Thomas's first guideline for the prevention of tyranny, namely that a suitable leader be chosen. However Fortescue does show how the second and third can be implented: that the king's occasion to sin through tyrannical rule be taken away, and that his power be tempered. In Fortescue's regal and political lordship, the king is prevented by law from degenerating into a tyrant.

This emphasis on the importance of English political experience leads to our second conclusion, which is that Fortescue draws upon English political expe-

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[94] Fortescue, *Governance* 3 (Lockwood, *On the Laws and Governance of England,* 88).

[95] The condition of the common people in France sounds pretty bad. For example, ". . . aquam cotidie bibit, nec alium nisi in solempnibus festis plebei gustant liquorem . . ." (Fortescue, *De laudibus* 35, ed. Chrimes, 82)

[96] See *De natura* 1.26 and *De laudibus* 14.

[97] "Quare posse peccare potestas non est aut libertas, sicut nec posse senescere vel corrumpi, neque potens facere peccatum potens simpliciter dici poterit, propter contrarium in adjecto, sicut nec homo mortuus simpliciter homo poterit nominari" (Fortescue, *De natura* 1.26, in *Works,* 87 [corrected as printed by Chrimes, 154]; trans. Lockwood, 134 [modified]).

rience to address the problem of limiting a monarch as presented by Thomas Aquinas. Fortescue's differences from Ptolemy show both the wide variety of ideas present in medieval political thought and the influence of real historical events on this thought. We can assume that Fortescue and Ptolemy took different approaches to the problem of preventing tyranny partly because of their different political experiences. The experience of Italian city-states made Ptolemy skeptical about the positive value of kings and caused him to advocate a brand of republicanism for those people who were good and fortunate enough to deserve it. Fortescue's experience of English feudalism helped him to formulate the concept of royal and political lordship in which the ruler is bound by an agreement with his subjects. Consequently, the king need not be above the law.

James Blythe has recently emphasized the importance of medieval political philosophy for the development of the modern mixed constitution.[98] John Fortescue's importance for the development of the British constitution has long been known.[99] If the thesis of this paper is correct, then a significant part of the story of the rise of the modern mixed government is John Fortescue's use of his own English experience to articulate a form of limited monarchy that could be expressed in terms of medieval political philosophy. Fortescue may not have been the most powerful theorist of medieval political thought, but he was able to make an original and lasting contribution to its development and implementation.[100]

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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PARISHES
IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK
TO THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS CANTILUPE
AT HEREFORD, CA. 1320*

R. N. Swanson

WITHOUT abandoning its primary spiritual function, to secure salvation for its members, the institutional church of the Middle Ages acquired a wide range of ancillary features. Of these, one of the most pervasive was its evolution as a fiscal machine, acquiring and dispensing money through an extensive assortment of mechanisms. These included processes of collecting voluntary donations within parishes, and then transferring the funds elsewhere. Those involved in such collecting activities included cathedral fabric funds, questors dealing in indulgences (also known as pardoners), and religious guilds and fraternities. Such collecting was also one of the methods whereby funds were obtained for shrine- and church-building campaigns, a phenomenon known in England from as early as the eleventh century, when continental religious bodies sent their representatives on collecting rounds with their relics.[1] Equivalent evidence for funding the construction of English shrines is scarce, but not totally missing. Some records among the archives of Hereford cathedral, seemingly the unique survivors of their type, illuminate the campaign undertaken in the 1320s to pay for the construction of the shrine for the newly canonized Thomas Cantilupe. Consisting of publicity material and a statement of receipts from a parish-by-parish collection in the archdeaconry of Norfolk, these documents provide the focus of the present article.

[1] In general on such collections, see R. Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques pour financer la construction des églises (XIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècles)," *Le moyen-âge* 101 (1995): 210–25, esp. 216–17, 219–21; and (with greater chronological spread) P. Héliot and M.-L. Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du moyen âge," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 59 (1964): 789–822, 60 (1965): 5–32. See also (with different concerns) J. S. P. Tatlock, "The English Journey of the Laon Canons," *Speculum* 8 (1933): 454–65.

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However unlikely and controversial Thomas Cantilupe might have been as a candidate for canonization, he was one of the few English saints to gain formal recognition between the Norman Conquest and the Reformation. Although he had died in Italy in 1282, his bones were brought back to his cathedral, and interred there. Following a change in the location of his tomb in 1287, an informal cult developed, with a series of miracles attesting his intercessory powers. Moves for his formal canonization then followed, the process eventually being successful with the issue of the appropriate bull by Pope John XXII in 1320.[2] The bull seems to have been widely disseminated, in order to encourage the cult.[3] Up to that point, and despite the campaign for the canonization, any formal commemoration would have had to be relatively low key: despite the miracles, there is nothing in England to match the enthusiasm of the spontaneous cults and popular canonizations which are sometimes associated with, for instance, Italian holy men and women of this time.[4] (But, then, Cantilupe was not exactly equivalent to such people: his cult probably owed more to his success as a miracle worker than to any real appreciation of his holiness during life.) Suggestions of an attempt to encourage a cult may be seen in the acquisition of indulgences from assorted bishops for prayers for Cantilupe's soul, but these are not necessarily cult associated: similar collections survive for other contemporary bishops, and indeed for institutions.[5]

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[2] For the canonization process, see R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, 2d ed. (Basingstoke and London, 1995), 174–79 (but telescoping events after 1320, and implying that the shrine was not used). See also P. H. Daly, "The Process of Canonization in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey (Hereford, 1982), 125–35; and R. C. Finucane, "Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their 'Miracles,' " ibid., 137–44. For some of the canonization testimony, see A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1997), 540–58.

[3] See the copies in, e.g., E. H. Pearce, ed., *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317–1327* (London, 1930), 94; E. Hobhouse, ed., *Calendar of the Register of John de Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells (A.D. 1309–1329)*, Somerset Record Society 1 (London, 1887), 208.

[4] For sainthood in late medieval Italy, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 183–218, 232–45.

[5] Indulgences for Cantilupe are in HCA 1421–26, 1428, 1430–31, 1433, issued at various dates between 1285 and 1328. This is not the full range of indulgences offered: John Dalderby of Lincoln also made a grant in 1320 of forty days of pardon (LAO, Episcopal Reg. III, fol. 263r). See also Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 5. Compare the prayers for Thomas de Bruton in Exeter, Cathedral Archives 2141, 2155, 2156–58 (all dated at Westminster on the same date), 2210; and those for Walter de Stapeldon, Exeter, Cathedral Archives 2199–2200. Nevertheless, indulgences might serve as part of a process of developing a cult; see J. Cannon and

Once Cantilupe had been canonized, however, formal commemoration was permitted, and a proper shrine became desirable, possibly an imperative: the new saint had to be honoured appropriately. Hereford's dean and chapter, in association with the bishop, now sought funds nationwide to carry out the project. That campaign generated the documents which are at the heart of this consideration.

The operation as a whole was complex. On the one hand, it sought to stimulate donations; on the other, it had to collect them. Medieval generosity was rarely gratuitous, even for spiritual purposes. Although the underlying imperative of terrestrial existence was *caritas,* love of neighbour, that imperative also carried with it an insistence on mutuality, and a sharing of responsibilities and benefits which entailed reciprocity. *Caritas* underpinned a system not of free giving but of gift exchange. Donors to the shrine would expect something in return, spiritual rewards for their mundane gifts.[6] Accordingly, a range of such benefits was offered, as indulgences and participation in the fruits of masses and psalter recitations.

These benefits are referred to in the publicity leaflets which were prepared for distribution and proclamation by the individual collectors. Several unused copies of these leaflets survive at Hereford, in a unique format: a number of skins remain, each bearing multiple copies of the document. Clearly mass produced (but not always absolutely identical in wording), the surviving sheets show an early stage in the production of such circulars: in due course they would have been separated into individual documents and taken out by the collectors. (It is of course also possible that the collectors actually took them as whole skins, and did the separating themselves later on.)[7]

A. Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti: Sienese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany* (University Park, Pa., 1998), 30. (For a possible English case, following the burial of Joan of Acre at Clare in Suffolk, see C. Harper-Bill, ed., *The Cartulary of the Augustinian Friars of Clare,* Suffolk Records Society: Suffolk charters 11 [Woodbridge, 1991], 8 and nos 158, 161, 162, 168, 172.) For institutional collections, see the collection for St. Ethelbert's hospital, Hereford, in HCA 1388, 1509, 1514–15, 1517, 2036–43.

[6] On reciprocity in devotion to saints, see R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), 162–63.

[7] Copies survive in HCA 1447, 3214 (see Appendix 1 below). If these are "briefs," the numbers produced could have been considerable: the fabric fund of Exeter paid for several hundred annually, as did that of Salisbury, and they were collecting only within their own dioceses (see A. M. Erskine, ed., *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279–1353,* 2 vols., Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s., 24, 26 [Torquay, 1981–83], 2:218, 274, 282–83, 285, 288, 290; Salisbury, Cathedral Archives, Fabric accounts /1, fol. 5v; /2, fol. 8r; /3a, m. 6). A cache of 164 publicity schedules for collections for the fabric of Great Bricett priory, Suffolk, survives among the archives of King's College, Cambridge: GBR/176, 278, with discussion forthcoming in R. N. Swanson, "Fund Raising for a Medieval Monastery: Indulgences

The leaflets refer to several kinds of spiritual benefit offered to contributors to the shrine-building. From the pope these included a relaxation of a seventh part of enjoined penance, and one year and forty-four days of pardon each time a donation was made. (The figure is slightly worrying: the norm would be a year and just forty days—a "quarantine" or "Lent.") In addition, donors would benefit from the remission associated with the stations of Rome, said to total forty-four years. Also on offer was the relaxation of penalties due for a variety of spiritual crimes, although these notably exclude failure to fulfil an oath to go to Jerusalem: even though the fall of Acre in 1291 had eliminated the crusader states in Palestine, crusade was still on the agenda.[8] To add to the attractions, donors to the shrine-building would be participants in all the spiritual benefits secured or earned by Hereford cathedral, and the bishop had also reportedly ordered all chaplains in the diocese to celebrate an annual trental for such bene-factors. The document ends by quantifying the spiritual rewards for contributions: the 600 trentals celebrated by the chaplains of the diocese, twenty-two years of indulgence, 22,000 masses, 15,000 psalters, and a total of recitations of the Our Father and Ave which "no one knows except God alone." The years of indulgence were presumably a one-off reward (although it is possible that they were treated as being accrued for each donation, allowing individuals to increase their total by making several distinct offerings). It is a reasonable as-sumption that the remainder were meant to be annual celebrations. Precisely how the totals were calculated is unknown, although the 600 trentals can read-ily be explained as a guess at the number of chaplains functioning within the diocese (the figure is far too conveniently round for it to be accurate). The sums of masses and psalters probably reflect calculations—or optimistic esti-mates—of celebrations similar to the statements of masses celebrated by monas-tic houses and psalters recited by nunneries contained in a publicity document for the Lichfield cathedral fabric fund of the fifteenth century.[9] Even so, the totals appear excessive, and would almost certainly be beyond the resources of the religious houses within Hereford diocese alone. Where the total of twenty-two years of indulgence comes from is utterly elusive in the present state of the evidence. Its calculation might, however, involve a certain degree of creative accounting, as sometimes appears in other quantifying of pardons which man-age to boost what begin as relatively modest amounts of pardon into sub-stantial totals.[10]

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and Great Bricett Priory," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 40 (2001–).

[8] For English crusading concerns at this time, see C. Tyerman, *England and the Cru-sades, 1095–1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), 240–46.

[9] See pp. 193–94 below.

[10] See, e.g., R. Mortimer, ed., *Charters of St Bartholomew's Priory, Sudbury, Suffolk*

This final summary of the spiritual benefits, while very succinct in the document, clearly shows the utilization of the church as a prayer machine. Comparable schedules of benefits were produced in a variety of circumstances, the closest parallel being a document from the 1330s to encourage donations for Beverley Minster, which sought contributions to the making of a new shrine as well as maintenance of the fabric ("ad sustentationem fabrice ecclesie vel ad constructionem novi feretri Beati Johannis").[11] Several phrases are identical with the wording of the Hereford publicity document—the initial reference to the papal injunction, some of the miraculous benefits received, and part of the call for donations. Clearly there was a strongly formulaic element to such proclamations. The Beverley benefactors were to constitute a fraternity, and would also benefit from a total of twenty-six years and forty days of pardon, 3000 masses, and 4000 psalters.

The Beverley document certainly reflects a concern similar to that behind the activity at Hereford, but for present purposes the most revealing comparable documents are those associated with the encouragement of donations to the fabric fund of Lichfield cathedral from the early fifteenth century. These put some flesh on the bare summary of masses and psalters mentioned in the Hereford and Beverley documents.

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Like several cathedral fabric funds, Lichfield's was tied to a fraternity, although one whose nature and reality remains unclear.[12] Donations were encouraged by publicity documents detailing spiritual privileges offered in return for gifts. Documents from the 1440s list the masses to be celebrated by named monastic houses throughout the diocese, of which donors to the fabric were to be beneficiaries.[13] Accordingly, for instance, 100 masses were said each at the abbeys at Darley, Burton, Shrewsbury, Beauchief, Haughmond, and Lilleshall,

Record Society: Suffolk Charters 15 (Woodbridge, 1996), no. 127. A note on Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6666, transforms a papal indulgence of a year and forty days on selected dates throughout the year into a total of 107 years and 230 days annually.

[11] R. M. T. Hill, ed., *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317–1340,* vol. 3, Canterbury and York Society 76 (York, 1988), no. 138.

[12] The loss of fabric accounts prevents any detailed reconstruction of the funding arrangements for Lichfield cathedral's fabric. For some indication of the fraternity, see *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Staffordshire,* vol. 3, ed. M. W. Greenslade (London, 1970), 158–59; and see Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages," 805–9, for a comment on similar continental fraternities .

[13] R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England: Faith, Religion, and Observance before the Reformation* (Manchester, 1993), 218–21.

with other houses saying lesser amounts, down to a mere three at Canwell priory. In addition, a multitude of psalter-recitations accrued merit which was likewise directed towards the benefactors to the fabric. Here, the gendered structure of the medieval church affected the processes, for the psalters were to be recited by nuns: as women, they were incapable of celebrating a mass but could still play a valid and valued role in the intercessory process. Accordingly, the members of Lichfield's St. Chad fraternity gained from the recitation of forty-two psalters by the nuns of Brewood, and no fewer than 300 psalters by those of Derby. Finally come the incalculable Aves and Paternosters. Although the Lichfield schedule—in contrast to that from Hereford—does not actually mention them, they were being said. A fifteenth-century bidding prayer from the diocese invokes such prayers weekly from every parishioner for members of the St. Chad fraternity, and also for members of an equivalent body associated with the co-cathedral at Coventry.[14] If they were actually said, it is no wonder that the Hereford publicity material considered them incalculable. Moreover, exploitation of diocese-wide prayers was not a practice confined to Lichfield: equivalent bidding prayers from York diocese likewise invoke intercessions from parishioners for the "brothers and sisters" of York Minster and the other major churches of that diocese, which suggests the existence of fraternities for a similar purpose.[15]

Further detail relevant for such campaigns is provided by documents from the archives of Exeter cathedral, apparently linked to a stage in the development of its own building fund campaign. In 1310 several religious houses across the diocese recorded their commitments to celebrate masses for donors to the fabric fund. These documents were clearly tied to a concerted effort to involve these houses: all the documents suspiciously bear the same date. As worded, they are general grants of participation in the benefits of the monasteries' spiritual activities, although statements of the numbers of priests celebrating masses at some of the houses suggest that more precision might have been intended.[16]

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[14] E. Calvert, "Extracts from a Fifteenth Century MS," *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 2d ser., 6 (Shrewsbury and Oswestry, 1894), 104–6; cf. also the mandate of Bishop Stretton in 1361 for prayers for the fraternity of Coventry, and authority for the privileges of the body, in R. A. Wilson, ed., *The Registers or Act Books of the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, Book 5, Being the Second Register of Bishop Robert de Stretton, A.D. 1360–1385: An Abstract of the Contents,* Collections for a History of Staffordshire edited by the William Salt Archaeological Society, n.s., 8 (London, 1905), 94–96.

[15] T. F. Simmons, ed., *The Lay-Folks' Mass Book,* Early English Text Society, o.s., 71 (London, 1879), 66, 71, 78. I am currently working on a consideration of indulgences in York diocese which gives more attention to these fabric collections.

[16] Exeter, Cathedral Archives 2144–52: "omnium missarum, oracionum, elemosinarum, et ceterorum bonorum operum qui in monasterio nostro fiunt de dei misericordia confisi tenore

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Supported by celebrations of masses and recitations of psalters in religious houses, and the trentals instituted by the bishop (for which there is no corroborating evidence), and probably supplemented by the provision of prayers across the diocese, the collecting mechanism to fund Cantilupe's shrine could be set in motion. The publicity documents were prepared—perhaps these counted as a version of the briefs whose writing is sometimes recorded in fabric accounts, at around 8d. per dozen—and the collectors could be sent out.[17] Except, of course, that it was not that simple; at least if the campaign was to be extended beyond the boundaries of the diocese of Hereford. The collectors would then need additional backing: their status would have been little different from that of the numerous questors already touring the country seeking financial support for a multitude of pious causes, and they would have been in a competitive market. Moreover, they would have needed additional authorization to put their sickles to another's crop. The activities of questors frequently attracted the attention of diocesan legislators: the synodal statutes of Exeter in 1287 summarized an episcopal stance which appears to have been widespread, seeking to control questorial activities by a system of licensing. Extending this concern to the collection for Cantilupe's shrine would mean that anyone collecting for this purpose outside Hereford diocese would need formal authorization from the appropriate diocesan to operate within his territory.[18]

That requirement therefore stimulated the next stage of the process, the appointment of the collectors, and the securing of the authorizations. Here the details in relation to the Cantilupe collections become somewhat obscure—as they do for most such collections at this point. Very few collectors' names are actually known, and it is not clear precisely how the collecting process was organized on the ground. It is clear that there were official appointees, and it was they who received royal letters of credence from Edward II, ordering royal offi-

presencium volumus et concedimus fieri per omnia participes et consortes" (2145, from Buckfast abbey; the wording is identical in the others). 2144 (Buckland) and 2146 (Torre) are endorsed with the number of monks; monk-priests are named in 2152 (Bodmin).

[17] For the writing fees, see Erskine, *Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral* 2:218, 274, 282–83, 285, 288, 290; J. C. Colchester, ed., *Wells Cathedral Fabric Accounts, 1390–1600* (Wells, 1983), 12, 18, 24, 31, 38; and York, Minster Library E3/21, 22(b), 24, 26, etc.; for Salisbury, see n. 7 above.

[18] *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, II (A.D. 1205–1313)*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), 2:1043; see also pp. 197–98 below. For similar developments in France, see Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages," 5–6.

cials to give them protection and support as they toured the country.[19] However, such letters also extended that protection to subcollectors, suggesting that there was a hierarchy, in which it was probably the subcollectors who undertook the wearisome task of touring the villages to collect the funds. No known documents identify these subcollectors; but it is a reasonable likelihood that some—perhaps most—were drawn from the ranks of professional collectors, the type of people whose activities can be reconstructed from evidence from the dioceses of York and Lincoln in this period, or from York in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and Hereford diocese in the early sixteenth century.[20] The leaders of the cohort of professional pardoners within York diocese around 1330 are all named in the publicity document for Beverley Minster issued then; they and their colleagues appear acting for several bodies concurrently or consecutively, carving up catchment areas among themselves, and making frequent appearances in the records. Some of them were almost certainly acting as sublessees, and it remains quite possible that such subleasing broke the territory down into fairly small units, with a group of lesser pardoners whose names are now unknown doing much of the actual collecting. The main uncertainty about these professionals concerns their own incomes: whether they received a fee, or took a cut of the collections. Most evidence across the centuries suggests a system of farming (and subleasing); but there is one case, early in the sixteenth century, where the collector seems to have operated on a commission basis, receiving a specified fraction of the receipts.[21]

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[19] HCA 1435, printed from another copy in T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, vol. 3 (London, 1706), 863–64; see also *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward II, vol. III, A.D. 1317–1321* (London, 1903), 526. For continental parallels, see Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages," 6–7, 29–30.

[20] See the brief comment in R. M. T. Hill, "Fund-Raising in a Fourteenth-Century Province," in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c.1100–c.1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. D. Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 12 (Woodbridge, 1999), 31–36. To this, for the same period, should be added material scattered through York, Minster Library H1/2 and M2(1)a; York questors in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are noted in H2/3, fols. 192r, 195v, 202r–v, 213/1v (there are many other grants of questorial licences in this volume, but they do not identify the questor), and H3/1, fols. 89v–90r, 94v–95r, 171r–172r, 191r (this volume also notes many other questorial licences without identifying the questors). For the questors of Hereford diocese, see A. T. Bannister, ed., *Registrum Ricardi Mayew, episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MDIV–MDXVI*, Canterbury and York Society 27 (London, 1921), 288–89, and *Registrum Caroli Bothe, episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MDXVI–MDXXXV*, Canterbury and York Society 28 (London, 1921), 354–60.

[21] The proctor for the Jesus guild at St. Paul's, London, who collected in London itself (at the royal court, within the city, the Inns of Court, and Chancery) accounted directly to the fraternity. He submitted all his receipts, receiving commission of 3s. 4d. in the £: see Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 221, fol. 33r, and also fols. 39r, 45r (I am grateful to Elizabeth New

Armed with royal support, and presumably with other letters of credence from the cathedral authorities and the bishop, the main collectors could embark on their quest. But further backing would also be useful. Accordingly, support was also sought from the archbishops—or, to be more precise in terms of the surviving documents, from the archbishop of Canterbury. In November 1320, Walter Reynolds issued a testimonial letter to the clergy of his province, supporting Walter de Byrmyngham, one of the collectors.[22] No immediately comparable letters are known from the archbishop of York, but it is a reasonable assumption that they were sought. In May 1321, Archbishop Melton did, after all, grant an indulgence for visitors and pilgrims to Cantilupe's shrine who attended the feast day, which was intended to reward donors to the shrine and the church.[23] Such letters of commendation were presumably meant to carry some influence, but would not have overridden the need to obtain permission from individual diocesans to collect within their bishoprics, unless they were among those seemingly excused from the need to obtain such licences—which seems unlikely. So far no specific individual questorial licences (that is, documents granting the questors permission to undertake their quests and solicit alms) have yet come to light for the Hereford collections in other dioceses, but given the paucity of detailed information about the marketing of indulgences, that is not really surprising. Comparable collecting licences were, however, granted within the diocese of Lincoln. Issued for the quest for the new *capsule* of the relics of St. John of Beverley, the first recorded was granted in 1303 and valid for three years.[24] Further grants were intermittently recorded until 1318;[25] but may well have been issued in later years, as the work was seemingly still in progress in the 1330s.[26] In 1313, the proctors of St. Edmund of Pontigny also received a licence to collect within Lincoln diocese, valid for two years, while seeking funds for the construction of the shrine or new work of that church.[27]

The grant of a local licence was not an automatic process, although its details are very rarely noted. Details from Ely diocese later in the fourteenth century suggest that it entailed formal examination of any papal bull, and of the letters of proxy granted by the body on whose behalf they were collecting. Copies of these might have to be deposited as well.[28] Across the centuries, local

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for allowing me to use her microfilm of this manuscript). Cf. also Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages," 816.

[22] HCA 1444.

[23] HCA 1431.

[24] LAO, Episcopal Reg. III, fol. 59v.

[25] Ibid., fols. 166r–v (1309), 179v (1310), 402v–403r (1318).

[26] See n. 11 above.

[27] LAO, Episcopal Reg. III, fol. 283v.

[28] Cambridge, University Library, EDR D/2/1, fols 41r–42r, 68r, 90r; cf. R. L. Storey,

ecclesiastical authorities maintained a watchful eye to ensure that collectors did not act without appropriate authorization, or collect beyond the bounds of their licences. Scattered evidence shows them using a range of disciplinary powers to keep the questors in line.[29] The early fourteenth century seems to have been a time of particularly acute vigilance and concern about the activities of the pardoners, real and fraudulent. The restrictions imposed on licences granted in the diocese of Lincoln amply demonstrate this. In April 1310, Bishop Dalderby authorized William de Humbelton to act within the diocese as questor on behalf of Beverley Minster for the new *capsule* of St. John of Beverley, exploiting the opportunity to rail against those false collectors who had duped the faithful and were using the funds collected for their private ends. In a grant of 1318 the collectors for the same purpose were ordered not to use painted rolls or false relics, or to offer pardons for crimes beyond their remit. They were not to preach erroneously, or to farm their collections.[30]

Even if the mechanisms for organizing such collections remain somewhat obscure, the quests were fruitful. Exactly how much was collected for Cantilupe's shrine from the nationwide campaign is not known, but a shrine was constructed. Not only do surviving documents record payments to appropriate workmen, but from the early 1320s the shrine was also one of the destinations to which penitents could be sent on pilgrimage.[31] Even if this first shrine did

ed., *The Register of John Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle, 1332–1352, and the Register of John Ross, Bishop of Carlisle, 1325–32*, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society 79, 81 (Woodbridge, 1993–95), 1, no. 663 (from 1342). See also Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages," 15–16.

[29] E.g., Cambridge, University Library, EDR D/2/1, fols. 41r–42v; York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, D/C R.Reg, fol. 32r; Hill, *Register of William Melton*, vol. 3, no. 276.

[30] LAO, Episcopal Reg. III, fols. 179v, 403r. The restrictions in the latter merit full citation: "Proviso insuper quod dicti procuratores vel nuncii rotulis depictis seu rubricatis vel fictis reliquiis non utantur, nec de facto motu suo proprio indulgencias populo concedere super votis dispensare, a periuriis, homicidiis, et peccatis aliis confitentes eisdem absolvere, male ablata, data sibi aliqua pecunie quantitate remittere, terciam aut quartam partem de iniunctis penitenciis relaxare, benefactoribus dicti capituli peccatorum remissionem plenariam indulgere vel quenquam a pena et a culpa absolvere permittantur, presertim cum omnia et singula privilegia si qua super premissis vel eorum aliquo concessa fuerunt sint auctoritate apostolica revocata. Nec etiam permittantur errores alios in populo seminare, sicut nonnullos questores alios consimilos fecisse didicimus temporibus retroactis, in decepcione multiplici animarum subditi nobis gregis; nec excedant in aliis sibi in hac parte traditam potestatem. Inhibemus insuper ne dicte questuacionis officium cuicumque dimittant ad firmam. Si quis vero convictus fuerit in premissis vel eorum aliquo contrarium presumpsisse, eo ipso ipsum carere volumus effectum nostrarum presencium litterarum." Similar restrictions appear in licences for other collections in this register. Cf. Hill, "Fund-Raising," 35–36.

[31] For payments, see HCA 1436–37, 1440, and comments in B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), 47 n. 99; and P. E. Morgan, "The Effect of the Pilgrim Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral," in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jan-

not actually last long—possibly being replaced when Cantilupe was translated in 1349—it was constructed, and for a while played a part in the devotional and liturgical round of the cathedral.[32]

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The sole survivor of what were presumably several accounts detailing the receipts from the local collections to fund the construction of Cantelupe's shrine is that from the archdeaconry of Norfolk in the diocese of Norwich.[33] There is nothing to indicate why it should be the only survivor; as a single sheet, written on both sides, its preservation may simply be accidental. The document lists the parishes under their deaneries, recording the receipts in cash and also the money acquired from sales of rings and other jewellery. Most of the sales relate to rings; to judge from the similar wording in the Beverley publicity document, and from the frequent mention of silver rings both in the slightly earlier records of donations to Great Bricett priory in Suffolk and in later documents recording donations to the fabric fund of Salisbury cathedral, such jewellery functioned almost as a form of currency.[34]

It is possible that in addition to the summary accounts there were more detailed lists of donations. The publicity leaflet mentions a register of donors, but whether this ever actually existed is unknown. Its mention in the circular invites comparison with the friar of Chaucer's *Summoner's Tale*, writing down the names of donors on tablets as he collected the gifts, to erase them shortly after.[35] There is, however, no formal evidence to show that this mendicant practice parallels activity in the shrine collections. A few of the notes endorsed

cey, 150. Instances of penitential pilgrimage appear in C. Johnson, ed., *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, diocesis Roffensis, A.D. 1319–1352*, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society 48–49 (Oxford, 1948), 1:217 (in 1321), 200 (in 1325); and D. Robinson, ed., *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317–1340*, vol. 2, Canterbury and York Society 71 (Torquay, 1978), no. 208 (from 1327).

[32] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 46–48, argues for a mere modification of Cantilupe's existing tomb, "an essentially makeshift arrangement pending a proper translation to a better shrine in a more prestigious location" (47). Expenditure well over £100, and the effort of the national collection, both seem excessive for "the minimum changes thought necessary to transform a tomb into a shrine" (ibid.). Morgan, "Effect of the Pilgrim Cult," 151, asserts that the new shrine of the 1320s remained empty until the translation of 1349.

[33] HCA 1446, printed in Appendix 2 below. No internal evidence provides a precise date; but the shrine-building campaign provides the only obvious context for its production. Palaeographically it would fit into the early fourteenth century.

[34] Hill, *Register of William Melton*, vol. 3, no. 138; Swanson, "Fund Raising"; Salisbury, Cathedral Archives, Fabric accounts /1, fol. 3r; /6, m. 4.

[35] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson (Oxford, 1988), 129, lines 1740–45, 1757–59.

on publicity documents recording donations to Great Bricett priory include names of individuals; but most of these annotations record townships and the total sums received from them—suggesting a stage preliminary to the production of a consolidated list such as the Hereford account.[36] Among surviving records, those which come closest to indicating individual contributions are probably the registers of bequests to the fabric of Lincoln cathedral. These, however, clearly serve a different function as records of receipts from individuals primarily post mortem, rather than offering a catalogue of living donors.[37] Later indications from religious fraternities suggest that their collectors were sometimes required to maintain lists of donors,[38] so there is every possibility that a Hereford list did once exist.

Despite being unique as a record of shrine donations, the Norfolk archdeaconry account is not a unique record of parochial collections. The notes endorsed on the publicity documents for Great Bricett priory provide further instances. The closest equivalent to the list of donations to Cantilupe's shrine may be the statements drawn up annually at Exeter for receipts from the "venia beati Petri," the collections for the fabric fund which were also supported by indulgences. A few such lists still survive among the records of the dean and chapter at Exeter.[39] Also comparable, although considerably smaller in scale, is the record of a parish-by-parish collection in part of Staffordshire in the early sixteenth century, to provide a bridge over the Trent.[40] Finally, and perhaps combining the notion of the register with that of parish collections, there is a highly enigmatic list from the archdeaconry of Stafford (again from the early sixteenth century), which originally recorded well over 50,000 individuals, whose names were noted presumably to receive prayers in recompense for donations to an unknown cause.[41]

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[36] For this material, see Swanson, "Fund Raising."

[37] E.g., LAO Bj/1/4.

[38] As, for example, the Guild of Holy Name, St. Paul's, London: Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 221, fols 5v, 28r. See also the reference to a book of the confraternity of the Roman hospital of Holy Spirit in Sassia, endorsed on Chester, City Archives CR 63/2/681 (of 1471/2). For a hint from just before the Reformation that collectors maintained registers of regular donors to the fabric funds of major churches, see W. H. Stevenson, J. Raine, et al., eds., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham,* 9 vols. (London and Nottingham, 1882–1956), 3:190–91.

[39] For the "venia beati Petri," see Erskine, *Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral* 2:xi. For one such list, see Exeter, Cathedral Archives 4641.

[40] Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office D(W) 1734/2/5/21.

[41] A. J. Kettle, ed., *A List of Families in the Archdeaconry of Stafford, 1532–3,* Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th ser., 8 ([Stafford], 1976). For speculation on the purpose of the list, including hints of a link with the fraternity of St. Chad, see ibid., ix–xi. The note of annual payments of 1d. in two entries (ibid., x, 34, 150) invites a link with fraternity

As it stands, the record of Norfolk donations for Cantilupe's shrine is complete, or appears so; there is nothing to suggest that it has been detached from other records. It has obviously been corrected (with several erasures), but seems to have been intended to function as a final statement. The heading identifies the collection as being for the shrine, and from the archdeaconry of Norfolk. The listing of individual parishes does not seem to follow a logical or traceable itinerary; there are some mistakes where entries are duplicated, although these duplications were apparently not noticed when the account was totalled.[42]

When compared with the *Taxatio* of 1291, the parish list seems to give a fairly complete geographical coverage of the archdeaconry of Norfolk in the early fourteenth century.[43] When plotted on a map of the county, the distribution seems spasmodic and incomplete; but that is an accurate reflection of the ecclesiastical jurisdictional geography, since the archdeaconry of Norwich cut a swathe through the northern part of the county, separating some deaneries of the Norfolk archdeaconry from its main body.[44] Some places listed in the *Taxatio* do not appear here; precisely why not is a matter for conjecture. Possibly some produced no donations, and therefore could be omitted. Some may not actually have been visited. A few of the omissions may reflect ecclesiastical jurisdictional complexities. Sedgeford (in the deanery of Heacham), and Lakenham (in the deanery of Humbleyard) were both peculiars of the prior and convent of Norwich; while Great Cressingham (in Cranwise deanery) seems also to have enjoyed peculiar status, although on what basis is not immediately obvious.[45] This may reflect a situation where an episcopal licence to collect did

contributions. Some later confraternity letters bear notes of the annual payment, which can go as low as 1d.; see R. N. Swanson, "Letters of Confraternity and Indulgence in Late-Medieval England," *Archives* 25 (2000): 48.

[42] The duplications are Palling in Waxton deanery (5d.); and Burgh Parva (3d.), North Tuddenham (6d.), and East Dereham (3s. ¾d.) in Hingham deanery.

[43] *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802), 83–90; also in W. Hudson, "The 'Norwich Taxation' of 1254 as far as Relates to the Diocese of Norwich, Collated with the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291, with Remarks on the Origin of the Rural Deaneries and the Valuation of the Parochial Benefices," *Norfolk Archaeology* 17 (1911): 107–25.

[44] The jurisdictions are most accessibly mapped in C. R. Humphery-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Colchester, 1984), map 24, although this is insufficiently detailed and anachronistic in some of the actual parish divisions.

[45] These places appear in the list of peculiars surviving in the nineteenth century in the *Valor ecclesiasticus;* see J. Caley and J. Hunter, eds., *Valor ecclesiasticus,* 6 vols. (London, 1810–34), 3:513. B. Cozens-Hardy, "Some Norfolk Halls," *Norfolk Archaeology* 32 (1961): 175, implies that the peculiar at Great Cressingham also derived from links with Norwich cathedral priory; but it appears as an ordinary rectory in the *Valor ecclesiasticus* 3:337.

not extend to such jurisdictions, and separate licences would have been needed from the appropriate local authorities.[46]

Perhaps more disturbing are cases where places appear on the account, but not in the *Taxatio*. In most cases the explanation appears straightforward, that the omitted parishes were then relatively poor, and so had been deliberately excluded from the 1291 list. The *Taxatio*'s return for Norwich diocese notably omits any list of benefices valued at under 6 marks, which would not have been liable to the taxation,[47] and comparison of the 1291 list with that of 1254 shows that most of the apparently additional places in the Cantilupe collection list are in fact places with a valuation below that 6-mark limit.[48] However, this does not account for all of the omissions: Runcton was valued at 16 marks in 1254,[49] but is missing from the 1291 list. It could still contribute 8d. to the Cantilupe collection. Even less explicable is the case of Middle Harling, in the deanery of Rockland, which was valued at 40 marks in 1254,[50] but was likewise omitted in 1291. It contributed 9d. to the shrine fund.

Recorded on the document at £45 4s. 2½d (although in fact about a pound less because of faulty arithmetic and the repetition of some entries), the total of receipts from the archdeaconry is impressive. Even though Norfolk county in the early fourteenth century was one of the wealthiest parts of the country,[51] its distance from Hereford (making the shrine building there a cause which is not immediately likely to have attracted extensive offerings) probably depressed the potential receipts. Moreover, these are the receipts from only part of the county—and quite probably the less wealthy areas at that. Notably excluded from the territory covered by the account are some of the county's (and country's) leading urban centres—Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn—which fell into the archdeaconry of Norwich.[52] The highest sum recorded on the account is 15s., from Worstead. A few others reach 10s. or a bit above (as at Walsham and Upwell). For the most part, however, the donations are considerably lower, with a substantial number at less than a shilling.

[46] This was the case with questorial licences included in York capitular material (n. 20 above). In one instance, a questor was charged with intruding into the jurisdiction and exceeding the limits of his licence: York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, D/C R.Reg, fol. 32r.

[47] R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies, Being some Essays in Research in Medieval History* (London, 1929), 298–300.

[48] The omissions are obvious from the layout in Hudson, "Norwich taxation," 107–25.

[49] Ibid., 111.

[50] Ibid., 121.

[51] R. E. Glasscock, "England *circa* 1334," in *A New Historical Geography of England before 1610*, ed. H. C. Darby (Cambridge, 1976), 140–41.

[52] See the Table, ibid., 181–82.

It is impossible to extrapolate from this one archdeaconry to a total receipt from the national collection, and there are no extant accounts at Hereford which can provide that information. However, it seems a reasonable expectation that the Norfolk total could be matched several times over across the country as a whole: even a conservative estimate that each of the dioceses produced in total only as much as here allowed from Norfolk archdeaconry gives a figure approaching £1000.

Of course, there are problems with interpreting the figures even from Norfolk. It is not clear whether the statement records receipts before allowance was made for collecting expenses: if such costs must be deducted, the amount which actually went towards the shrine fund might well be considerably reduced. (In the early sixteenth century, collecting costs for the guild of St. Mary at Boston, which held annual national tours to gain members and funds, consumed a substantial portion of the receipts.)[53] Even if the diocesan licences to collect were granted freely because of the nature of the enterprise,[54] there were still accommodation and travelling costs, and the costs of recording the collections. It also has to be assumed that the recorded receipts from the individual parishes are fully recorded: such collections were notably open to corruption and peculation. The listing of names and donations for this enterprise might be just as liable to maladministration as the collections for the friars recorded by Chaucer.[55] A final variable here lies with the receipts in kind. Where the statement records sales of rings and other jewellery it has to be assumed that the goods were actually sold (perhaps in the place where they had been acquired), and only the cash delivered to the shrine accountants. This, however, leaves open the possibility that other jewellery was received but retained, to augment the shrine itself, or to be treated as bullion to be used for the decoration.[56]

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[53] London, British Library Egerton 2886, passim (see, e.g., fols. 171r–176r, for 12–13 Henry VIII).

[54] Later evidence suggests that several institutional questors paid fees to the diocesan authorities (although the precise arrangements are nowhere fully set out): Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, DRC/2/11, 12, 13, 16; Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Reg. 9/14, fols. 13r, 63r, 66r, 79v, 228v; LAO, Add. Reg. 7, fol. 156r, Bps Accts 7, fols. 18v–19r; York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, D/C R.Reg, fols. 18r, 20r, 43v, 45v, 48r. However, I have not come across fees (or, indeed, any formal grants of collecting licences) for the Palmers of Ludlow or the Boston Guild. Some licences were granted gratuitously, perhaps mainly those for small scale collections: York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. 14 (Thomas Arundel), fols. 3Ar–v, 6r; Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Reg. 9/14, fol. 18v. In Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office, DRC/2/16 the questor for Burton Lazars in Carlisle diocese was excused the fee, but paid on other occasions.

[55] See n. 35 above.

[56] For later indications of sales of collected offerings of rings, see Salisbury, Cathedral Archives, Fabric accounts /1, fol. 3r; /2, fol. 6r; /3, m. 2; /6, m. 4; /7, m. 5; /8, m. 3.

While it would be intriguing to know why some parishes gave more than others, and to tie their contributions to particular local circumstances, the baldness of the record of donations precludes more detailed analysis—beyond, perhaps, a contrast of urban and rural generosity. Ultimately, what really matters is that Norfolk was seen as a region which would be willing to contribute to the Hereford project, regardless of the distance, and that the project of commemorating a saint was not merely a local concern but a national one to which all could contribute (and, indeed, from which all could benefit).

*
* *

That willingness to contribute to the shrine collection attests the attraction of sainthood in early fourteenth century England. It may not of itself explain why people gave, since it says nothing of their perceptions of Cantilupe other than as an effective intercessor—although even that stimulus has to be inferred, as few East Anglian miracles are recorded in the canonization proceedings.[57]

Where the account is particularly useful is as testimony to the economic and financial significance of sainthood, and indeed of the role of the church as a whole as a financial machine. In this instance, numerous people had contributed to the bigger project. The donations may have been widows' mites, but in the end they amounted to a tidy sum. That process of accumulation offers an indication of the wider cumulative process of the transfer of wealth across the country, and in all directions, as a result of spiritual concerns and ecclesiastical activity. The church's role and significance in that process is only slowly beginning to be appreciated, as an actor, a beneficiary, and a stimulus. Admittedly, though, there is a major question of scale here. The donations are recorded, but not the donors; interpretation lies prey to ambiguity. While the donations are noteworthy, the perspective from which they should be viewed is uncertain: is this generosity, or stinginess? Swaffham, for instance, donated 10s. 8d., yet in 1334 its wealth was assessed at £300—so the donations amount to a mere 0.16 per cent.[58]

Above all, however, what this account indicates is the scale of participation, even if at a regional level, in what was in fact a national movement: to house the saint in an appropriate manner. Even from the wilds of the Welsh border, the appeal for assistance was legitimate and valid, and received a response whose scale might justly be categorized as positive, perhaps even enthusiastic.

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[57] See the map in Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims,* 185. One person who experienced a miracle is identified as being from Norfolk county: *AA SS* Oct. 1 (Antwerp, 1765), 677. A few others are said to be from Norwich diocese, but from Suffolk, or with no county specified.

[58] For the county's wealth in 1334, see Glasscock, "England *circa* 1334," 182.

Cantilupe was not just a regional saint, and the surviving archdeaconry account is not just a statement of the potential for donations in a part of Norfolk. The regional and national perspectives have to be applied in tandem: the miracle collection shows that Cantilupe attracted widespread devotion; the account supplements that evidence, to attest a persisting nationwide attraction some years after the miracles were recorded.

APPENDIX 1

Publicity material detailing the privileges available to those for contributors towards the construction of the new shrine for St. Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford Cathedral.

HCA 1447, 3214.[59]

Dominus papa iniungit omnibus christianis in remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum ut sint coadiutores et benefactores novo feretro sancti Thome de Cantulupo, episcopi Herefordensis, quod opus, absque fidelium auxilio consummari non potest, in quo quidem gloriosa ossa sancti Thome requiescunt intumulata, pro cuius meritis et intercessionibus quam plura miracula operata sit divina potencia (nam ceci vident, surdi audiunt, muti loquntur, claudis et contractis membra reformantur, restitucione sensus gaudent furiosi, navigantibus in maris periculis portus redditur, preoptatus et mortui ad vitam resussitantur); unde dominus papa omnibus benefactoribus dicto operi septimam partem penitencie misericorditer relaxat, et quociens Christiani ad hoc dederint elemosinas unum annum xliiii dies venie eis concedit. Concedit eciam eos esse participes stacionum peregrinacionum sancte Romane ecclesie, quarum summa est xliiii anni. Item, sentencias excommunicacionis ignoratas, peccata oblita, vota fracta si ad ea non redierint (excepto voto Ierosolomitano), offenciones patrum et matrum sine manum inieccione, transgressiones fidei et iuramentorum que fiunt ex impetu ad penitencias oblitas et malefactas, negligencias sacerdotum quas in divinis officiis ignoranter omiserint et dicta negocia parochianis suis in confessione vel aliter bene procuraverint, Dominus papa similiter relaxat. Scribantur nomina conferencium de bonis suis firmaculum, anulum aureum vel argenteum, vel aliquam peccunie quantitatem (unum denarium si facultates sue largius non sufficiant); in communi registro ponentur, ut memorialiter omnium bonorum que in dicta ecclesia fiunt vel fient participes existant. Item, iniunctum est per episcopum Herefordensem omnibus capellanis sue diocese ut celebrent unum tritenale singulis annis pro dictis

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[59] As noted in the main text, the publicity documents survive in multiple copies, with around seven examples on each skin. The text presented here derives from a selection of those copies, and eliminates the minor omissions and scribal differences which exist in the individual items.

benefactoribus. Et est summa tritenalium vi.C; summa indulgentiarum xxii. anni; summa missarum xxii. milia; summa psalteriorum xv milia; summa pater et ave nemo novit nisi solus deus.

APPENDIX 2

HCA 1446

Collecta beati Thome Herefordensis in archidiaconatu Norffolchie[60]

[col. a]

In decanatu de Waxton

Honton sancti Johannis	xiiii.d
Berton	iii.s
Felmyngham	ii.s vi.d
West Wyk	iii.s
Crost Weyt	viii.d
Walsham	x.s vi[61].d
Tunsted	v.s
Ludham	x.s
Stalham	v[62].s
Edythorpp	viii[63].d
Ridelyngton	vi.d[64]
Sloleye	ix.s iiii[65].d
Pallyng	v.d[66]
Walcote	ii.s
Swathefeld	ii.s vi.d
Ingham	ii.s v.d
Hempsted	xvii.d
Waxton	ii.s

[60] In editing, redundant terminal suspension marks in place names have been ignored. Most of the place names are recognizable from their modern equivalents, or from available Norfolk records; only in a few cases has a note been added to assist identification. Scribal alterations are noted, although several erasures remain incompletely recoverable, even with the use of ultraviolet light. Throughout, I have converted *j* to *i* in the numerals.

[61] Corrected from "viii."

[62] Corrected from "x."

[63] This is corrected, but the original text is illegible.

[64] Corrected from "s."

[65] Corrected from "viii."

[66] Corrected from "s."

Pallyng	v.d
Horseye	xviii.d
Lesyngham	xviii.d
Aschemanhag	vi.d
Wytton	ii.s xi.d
Paston	iii.s
Bradefeld	xi.d
Hornyng	ii.s vi[67].d
Ryston	iiii.s vi[68].d
Honyng	iii.s vi.d
Wrsted	xv.s
Hykelyng	xiiii.s
Beston	xv.d
Smalberwe	iii.s
Hapesburg	vi.d
Catefeld	iii.s i.d
Sutton	xv.d
Irstede	xi.d
Baketon	xviii.d
Casewyk	vii.d
Honton Petri	x.d
Dilham	iii.s [69]
Hengham	x.s vi.d

Summa: vi.li. xiii.s ix.d

In decanatu de Brunham

Depedale	v.s
Brunham Marie[70]	iii.s iiii.d
Brunham Clementis	iiii.s iii.d
Brunham Norton	iiii.s
Brunham Sutton	x.d
Brunham Andree	xxii.d
Brunham Ulp	iii.s
Brunham thorp	iii.s
Brunham Petri	v.d

[67] This is corrected, but the original reading is not clear. It might be "xi."

[68] Corrected from "xi."

[69] There is an erasure to the right, recoverable as "vi li. xi s. ii d." This and other comparable figures at the ends of deaneries are preliminary calculations of the totals.

[70] MS: Brunham Mar'. The dedications of the several Burnham parishes included both Margaret and Mary. Burnham Norton, which appears later in the list, was dedicated to St. Margaret, so this dedication must be Mary (now Burnham Westgate); see F. Arnold-Foster, *Studies in Church Dedications, or England's Patron Saints*, 3 vols. (London, 1899), 3:72.

Northcrek	viii.s
Sydesterne	xl.d
Beremere	ii.s
Bagethorp	xii.d
Item, 1 anulus precii	vi.d
Honton	xviii.d
Westrudham	viii.s
Estrudham	v.s
Item, 1 anulus precii	viii.d
Bronnesthorp	vi.d
Taterford	xii.d
Dunton et Doketon	xvi.d
Skulthorp	ii.s ob.
Fakenham	ix.s
Item, 1 anulus precii	xii.d
Pennisthorp	i.d ob.
Ryburgh Parva	xii.d
Scibird	ii.s
Fulmereston	xiii.d
Ketliston	vi[71].s iiii.d
Naryng Parva	iiii.s
Item, 1 anulus precii	viii.d
Estbarsham	iii.s iiii.d
Northbarsham	ii.s vi.d
Westbarsham	iii.s
Waterden	xviii.d
Tatersete sanctorum	x.d
Suthcrek	vii.s
Tatersete sancti Andree	vii.d[72]

Summa: v[73].li. xviii.d[74]

[col. b]

In decanatu de Hecham

Hecham	xii.s
Item, 1 firmaculum precii	v.d

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[71] The reading here is uncertain. The figure appears to be corrected from "iii," but it is possible that the change is to "iii."

[72] There is an erasure to the right, presumably of a subtotal (as in other deaneries), but the text is irrecoverable.

[73] Written over "iiii."

[74] There is an erasure here, irrecoverable apart from the final "iiii d."

Holm	vi.s iii.d [75]
Stanhowe	iiii.s i.d
Berewyk	ii.s viii.d
Hunstaneston	v.s viii.d
Ryngsted Parva	xi.d
Ryngsted Petri	iii.s ii.d
Ryngsted Andree	ii.s [76]
Tychewell	xxiii.d ob. q^a
Brauncestre	iiii.s
Chofle	ix.d
Suthmere	vi.d q^a
Dokkyng	vi.s x.d
Neuton	xvi.d
Toftes	xviii.d
Bretham	ii.s v.d
Freng	ii.s
Scharneburn	ii.s q^a
Ingaldysthorp	xx.d
Snetesham	ix.s [77]

Summa: iii.li. xi.s ii.d q^a

In decanatu de Fyncham

Stradesete	vii.d
Cremplesham	ii.s vi.d
Item, i preve	vi.d
Thorp	iii.s vi.d [78]
Fyncham Martini	ii.s ii.d
Fyncham Michaelis	ii.s
Foston	iiii.d
Berton sancti Andree	xx.d
Berton sanctorum	xix.d [79]
Berton Marie	vii.d [80]
Butham[81] sanctorum	xviii.d
Butham sancti Johannis	vii.d

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[75] This is corrected, but the original figure is illegible.

[76] This is corrected, possibly from "iii.s."

[77] There is an erasure to the right, recoverable as "iii. li. x. s. ii. d. q^a."

[78] This seems to have been changed from "iii.d.," but it may be meant to be corrected to "iii.d."

[79] This is corrected, but the original text is irrecoverable.

[80] This is corrected, but the original text is irrecoverable.

[81] *Sic* MS; but these must be the Bircham parishes.

Butham Marie	ix.d
Watlyngton	v.s iii.d
Rungeton Holm	iii.s
Derham utraque	ii.s
Thokpland	vi.d
Suthreye	ii.s viii.d
Helegeye	iii.s
Dounham	ii.s
Wynbotesham	ii.s iii.d qᵃ
Schuldham Margarete	ii.s ii.d
Schuldham sanctorum	xx.d
Upwell	xi.s iiii.d
iii firmacula, i prent,[82] precii	ii.s
Bekeswell	xvi.d
Ryston	xiiii.d
Wallyngton	ix.d ob.
Wyrmegeye	ii.s
Stoke	xxx.d
Wrotton	ii.s
Boketon	xviii.d
Schengham	xii.d
Westbryg	iiii.s
Fordham	ii.s
Utwell	v.s
Wyrham	xviii.d [83]

Summa: iiii.li. x.d ob. qᵃ[84]

In decanatu de Crane Wy3

Cranewy3	xii.d
Northwold	iii.s vi.d
Item, ii anulos argenti	iiii.d
Methelwold[85]	ii.s
Feltewell utraque	iiii.s vi.d
Hokewold	ii.s iii.d

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[82] Precisely what this is escapes me. The closest equivalent I have found is in R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1965), s.v. "print/a." There it is said to be a print, stamp, coinage die, or boss (on a mazer); but none of these seems really appropriate to explain the appearance in the present list. All the citations given are of later date, the earliest being from 1355.

[83] There is an erasure to the right, recoverable as "iiii li. viii d. ob qᵃ."

[84] There is an erasure here, irrecoverable apart from the final "ob. qᵃ."

[85] This may be written over an erasure, but if so, nothing of the original text is now recoverable.

Wytton	xviii.d
Wetyng utraque	iii.s v.d
Satton	xi.d
Croxton	vi.d
Stirston	vi.d
Item, i anulus	iiii.d
Stanford	v.s iiii.d
Bokenham Parva	vi.d
Lyneford	v.d

[col. c]

Mundeford	x.d
Colneston	xx.d
Ikeburgh	vi.d
Langeford	x.d
Bodeneye	x.d
Hildeburwrth	ii.s
Dodelyngton	xvi.d
Fuldon	iiii.s iiii.d
Gotherston	v.s
Item, v firmacula precii	xiii.d
Oxeburgh	ii.s iii.d
Caltecote	vi.d
Cleye utraque	xiii.d
Narburg	xviii.d
Narford	xx.d
Suthacre	xiiii.d
Neweton	iii.d
Sporle	iii.s vi.d ob.
Neketon	vi.s vi.d
Westbradenham	xxii.d
Estbradenham	xviii.d
Hale et Holm	xiiii.d
Northpykenham	iii.d
Honton	v.d
Item, i anulus precii	ii.d
Sutpykenham utraque	ii.s i.d
Cressyngham Parva	xviii.d
Swafham	x.s viii.d
Item, ii anulos precii	vi.d [86]

Summa: iiii.li. ii.s x.d ob.[87]

[86] There is an erasure to right, incompletely recoverable: "iiii li. ii.s. d. ob. [. . .] anul[os]."

In decanatu de Rokelound

Lopham utraque	xxi.d
Norton utraque	xiiii.d
Garboldesham utraque	xl.d
Catisthorp	xviii.d
Rydeleswrth	x.d
Ruschewrth	xx.d
Brethenham	ii.s ii.d
Kylmereston	xii.d
Westherlyng	xxx.d
Medherling	ix.d
Estherlyng	ix.s
Quidenham	ii.s
Banham	xl.d
Wyleby	xviii.d
Hargham	x.d
Snyterton utraque	ii.s ii.d
Lerlyng	ii.s iii.d
Schorpham utraque	xxx.d
Bryngham	xiii.d
Rendham	xviii.d
Illyngton	xv.d
Hotham	xviii.d
Northwrotham	x.d
Est Wrotham	xii.d
Rokelound omnes	ii.s
Elyngham magna	xl.d
Attleburgh	x.s
Besthorp	ii.s

iii.li. iiii.s ix.d

Summa: iii.li. iiii.s ix.d

In decanatu de Bedenhal

Pulham in ecclesia	v.s vi.d
in capella eiusdem	iii.s iiii.d
Schimplyng	ii.s
Thorp Abbatis	xviii.d
Brokedys	iii.s viii.d
Dyckleburg	iii.s
Gyssyng	xx.d
Reveshal	ii.s

[87] This is written over an erasure, but the original text is irrecoverable.

Thelveton	vi.d
Tysteshal utraque	ii.s
Wynneferthyng	v.s
Schelshangre	xx.d
Disce	viii.s iiii.d
Denton	iii.s iiii.d
Frensfe	vi.d

[dorse, col. a]

Reydon	xiiii.d
Thorp parva	v.d
Durston	vii.d
Stirston	xvi.d
Brysyngham	xxxiii.d
Ersham	xvii.d
Ferfeld	xv.d
	lii.s xi.d

Summa: lii.s xi.d

In decanatu de Depwade

Multon maior	xxii.d
Multon minor	vi.d
Fundenhal	xxx.d
Aschewellthorp	vi.d
Item, i anulus precii	iii.d
Hemenhal	vii.s
Aselacton	xlii.d ob.
Takolneston	vii.s
Item, v[88] anulos precii	ii.s vi.d
Tybenham	x.d ob.
Carleton	iiii.s x.d
Bonewell	x.s
Freton	viii.s
Sbton[89]	xiiii.d
Stratton Marie	iiii.d[90]
Item, i firmaculum precii	x.d
Item, ii anulos precii	iiii.s viii.d
Stratton Michaelis	vi.d

[88] This originally read "i anulus," the correcting "v" being interlined with a caret.

[89] *Sic* MS. Of the parishes in the deanery otherwise not accounted for on this list, the most likely possibility to fit here is Stratton (St. Peter).

[90] This is corrected, but the original reading is unclear.

Fornsete utraque	v.s	
Moryngthorp	iiii.s	
Herdwyk	xii.d	
Waleton utraque[91]	ii.s ii.d	
Therston	iii.s	iii.li.[92]
Schelton	xii.d	xvii.s xi.d

Summa: iii.li. viii.s iiii.d

In decanatu de Hengham

Hengham	ii.s ix.d
Morle	xi.d
Depham	xix.d q^a
Wyklewod sanctorum	xi.d ob.
Wyklewod Andree	ix.d
Crungelthorp	vii.d ob.
Wramplyngham	v.d
Bereford	iii.d
Bernham	xii.d
Item, i firmaculum precii	ii.d
Ryskes	viii.d q^a
Runhal	x.d
Brandon	vi.d
Hardyngham	xv.d q^a
Bergh magna	iii.d
Rysyng	iii.d ob.
Leyton	xix.d[93]
Cran[...]wyth[94]	ii.d ob.
Schipedham	dimidia marce
Item, i firmaculum precii	iii.d
Westfeld	i.d ob.
Qwineberg	iii.d
Borgh parva	iii.d[95]
Northtodenham	vi.d
Derham	iii.s ob. q^a
Iaxham	ii.s
Gerneston	iiii.d q^a

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[91] The "utraque" is inserted.

[92] This is followed by erasure, "xi.d.," which presumably runs on to the sum given at the right of the following line.

[93] Corrected: "ob" deleted.

[94] I.e., Cranworth.

[95] This and the next two entries are struck through: they are duplicated later in the list.

Thonston	iii.d
Mateshal	xvi.d q^a
Welleburn	v.d
Borgh parva	iii.d
Northtodenham	vi.d
Derham	iii.s ob. q^a
Hokeryng	ix.d
Hovyngham	xiii.d
Esttodenham	vii.d
Colton	xi.d
Bykerston	iiii.d

[col.b]

Eston	vi.d q^a
Marlyngford	iii.d q^a
Bauburg	ii.d
Bonthorp	iii.d
Costeseye	viii.d
Kymburle	iiii.s i.d ob[96]
Hakeford	v.d
Reymereston	ix.d
Carlton	xi.d
Corston	v.d
Wymedham	vii.d[97]

Summa: xliii.s iiii.d q^a

In decanatu de Reppes

Thorp	xl.d
Northrepp	iii.s vi.d
Gymyngham	ii.s ix.d
Schiryngham	ii.s iiii.d
Thurgerton	xvi.d
Schipeden	xvi.d
Gunton	xxiii.d
Aylmerton	xii.d
Sydestrond	vi.d
Suthrepp	ii.s
Moneslee	viii.d
Beston	xii.d

[96] This entry is corrected, with the "ob" apparently written over the "d."
[97] There is an erasure to the right, partially recoverable as "xliii.s. [. . .] q^a."

Runcton	viii.d
Basyngham	xvi.d
Matelask	vii.d
Bernyngham magna	viii.d
Combernyngham	ix.d
Trimyngham	ii.s
Knapeton	xviii.d
Suthfeld	xxx.d
Antyngham utraque	ii.s iii.d
Hanewrth	xv.d
Rungton	xiii.d
Felbrygg	x.d
Becham	vii.d
Gresham	xiiii.d[98]

Summa: xxxix.s x.d

In decanatu de Homelyerd

Hengham	x.d
Melton parva	xvi.d
Hedersete	v.s iiii.d
Item, i firmaculum precii	ii.s
Melton Marie	xiii.d
Melton sanctorum	xxii.d
Carlton beate Marie	xvii.d
Carlton Petri	xiii.d
Ketringham	ii.s
Hethhil	xviii.d
Mulkeberton	ii.s iiii.d
Wrenyngham sanctorum	viii.d q[a]
Wrenyngham beate Marie	vii.d ob.
Flordon	x.d
Nelond	xv.d[99]
Sweynesthorp Petri	xxiii.d
Sweynisthorp Marie	viii.d
Kyningham	v.d
Jutewode	xviii.d
Swedistone	xvi.d
Colweyt	xviii.d
Kesewik	iii.d
Diacone	ii.s ii.d

[98] There is an erasure to the right: "xxix.s x.d."
[99] There appears to be a change of hand here.

Merkishalle	xii.d
Erlham	xvi.d
Dunstone	xv.d
Cantelof	viii.d ob.
Newitone	xviii.d
Cringelforde	ix.d

xxxviii.s iiii.d ob.
et i firmaculum precii ii.s

Summa: xl.s v.d q^a

In decanatu de Brok

Poringlond maior	x.d
Franlingham Picot	xx.d
Framlingham Comuttis[100]	vii.d

[col.c]

Castro	xiii.d
Byskelee	v.d
Jelverton	iii.s ii.d
Brampto[n]	viii.d
Qwetacre sanctorum	xxii.d
Hadesco	xviii.d
Toft	iii.s
Thorp	ii.s vi.d i anulus precii iiii.d
Kyrkeby cam	iii.s ii.d
Lodne	viii.s
Mundham Alberti[101]	ii.d ob.
Brom	ix.d
Bedyngham	v[102].s viii.d
Gylyngham utraque	xxii.d ob.
Geldeston	vii.d
Norton	iii.s vii.d
Halis	iii.s[103]
Rameningham	v.s
Stocton	iiii.s
Thurnerton	vii.s
Hekyngham	xx.d
Hardelee	ii.d ob.

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[100] *Sic* MS.
[101] This is corrected, but the original reading is irrecoverable.
[102] Corrected from "ix."
[103] Followed by "viii.d.," rubbed out.

Cathegrave	iiii.s x.d
Langelee	vi.d
Carlton	iii.s
Sislond	xii.d
Ascheby	xii.d
Thurton	xii.d
Bergh	xviii.d
Apeton	xviii.d i anulus precii iiii.d
Holveston	ix.d
Claxton	xii.d
Helgton	ii.s
Rokelound utraque	xx.d
Stoke	xvi.d
Surlyngham	xviii.d
Wytlingham	ii.d
Kirkeby Andree	xviii.d
Kyrkeby Marie	xix.d
Brok	xv.d
Howe	xii.d
Kirkested	xii.d
Langhal	xxii.d
Sithing	iii.s
Schotesham Marie	xxii.d
Scotesham sanctorum	ii.s
Saxlingham Nethergate	ii.s
Saxlyngham Thorp	ii.s xi.d
Wodeton	iii.s v.d
i anulus precii	xii.d
Topecroft	v[104].s vi.d
Hedenham	x.d
Dichingham	xii.d
Tweyt	iiii.d
Elyngham	xl.d
Wyndele	x.d
Schotesham Martini	xii.d
Schotesham Botolf	ii.s[105]

Summa: vi.li iiii.s iiii.d ob.   xlvi.li v.s i.d
Summa totalis: xlv.li iiii.s ii.d ob.

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[104] Possibly originally "vi."
[105] There is a rubbed entry to right: "vi li. iii.s. viii.d. et iiii anulos."

NEWLY DISCOVERED METRICAL ARGUMENTS
TO THE *THEBAID**

Harald Anderson

O NE of the most enduring legacies of late antique instruction is the compo-
sition and use of verse arguments.[1] These metrical encapsulations, termed
uersus memoriales or *summae memoriales*, provided the reader with the plot
of a work, identified the characters, and delineated its major subdivisions in a
succinct, mnemonic form. Although ancillary in nature, verse arguments are
not transmitted like other ancillary texts, which are usually found in the margin
in minuscule scripts. Rather, they are normally copied within the text-frame
and are often accompanied by glosses or lengthier exegesis. These poems were
seen, thus, as independent, self-standing texts that were endowed with their
own textual authority.[2] It is apparently for their added didactic importance that
they were often attributed to Ovid.[3]

[1] The only modern study of the origin, development, and use of metrical arguments is
C. R. Opitz, "De argumentorum metricorum latinorum arte et origine," *Leipziger Studien zur
classischen Philologie* 6 (1883): 193–316. The arguments that accompanied classical texts in
manuscripts before the thirteenth century are listed in B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs
classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles,* 3 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1982–89).

[2] I owe these observations to M. K. Lafferty. For a similar assessment of the transmission
of verse arguments, see C. Jeudy and Y.-F. Riou, "L'*Achilléide* de Stace au moyen-âge: Abré-
gés et arguments," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 4 (1974): 169 and n. 1.

[3] It is probably because of a didactic reading of the *Metamorphoses, Fasti* and Ps.-
Ovidian *Halieutica* that Ovid's name was occasionally attached to poems which, although
anonymous, had some didactic value. One example of this is the Ps.-Ovidian *De doctrina mo-
rum* (ed. O. J. A. Russell [London, 1958]). The verse arguments most frequently attributed to
Ovid are those to Virgil's *Aeneid* (*Anthologia Latina I,* ed. A. Riese [Leipzig, 1894–1906],
nos. 1 [with sphragis], 2, 634, and 672a) and *Georgics* (ibid., no. 2). See Opitz, "De argu-
mentorum metricorum latinorum arte," 298–300. For Statius, the *argumenta antiqua* to the
Thebaid in Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Lat. 74 (s. xiv ex.), Vatican City, Biblioteca
Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 1691 (s. xiii ex./xiv in.), and Vienna, Österreichische National-

In light of the significance of these texts, the transmission of the antique dodecastich arguments to Statius's *Thebaid* posed two major problems for medieval scholars. First, of the antique twelve-line arguments to the individual books of the poem, the so-called *argumenta antiqua,* only those to books 2–5 and 7–12 were extant in the Middle Ages. If the arguments were to serve their didactic function, new arguments would have to be created. The other problem was that two antique general arguments to the poem, the "Associat" and "Soluitur" arguments, were commonly transmitted in the Middle Ages, each of which offered a different interpretation of the poem. In this article, I present a number of newly discovered arguments that will demonstrate the ways in which scribes resolved these two problems, in the former case by creating "replacement" arguments and in the latter by contaminating the two traditions or adding new and hybrid monostichs. These texts provide important evidence for the medieval reception and interpretation of ancient authors: not only do the arguments themselves witness changing interpretations and a scholarly interest in interacting with an authoritative *corpus,* but their composition and style— especially their affinities to the antique arguments—demonstrate the methodologies the scholars and scribes used in creating the new texts.[4]

Before proceeding I should note my general editorial principles in presenting these texts. In the past, editors have adapted the orthography of medieval arguments to classical standards, but since the arguments I edit here are of medieval origin, I have decided to preserve the orthography as found in the manuscripts. I have, however, modernized punctuation and capitalization. For the edited texts that I cite, I use the edition (and apparatus) of Hill for the *Thebaid*,[5] Queck for the "Associat" and "Soluitur" general arguments (with one minor adjustment);[6] Klotz-Klinnert for the *argumenta antiqua* and the "Ut

bibliothek 228 (s. XIII) are labeled "epigrama Ouidii," "prefacio Ouidii," and "versus Ovidii" respectively, and in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dc 156, fol. 1r (s. XIII), the "Associat" general argument to the *Thebaid* is labeled "argumentum Ouidii." The "Primus habet" general argument to Lucan in London, British Library Add. 14799, fol. 2v (s. XIV-XV), has the title "prohemium memorialis summe librorum Ouidii Metamorphoseos"; I suspect that the scribe misunderstood the attribution and borrowed the title from Orico da Capriana's *Summa memorialis* of the *Metamorphoses* (see B. Roy and F. T. Coulson, *Incipitarium Ovidianum,* Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin [forthcoming], no. 124).

   [4] In editing the texts that follow, I refer to all arguments by their incipit except for the twelve-line arguments to book 1, to which I refer by the location of their manuscript sources, as some of these arguments have the same incipit.

   [5] D. E. Hill, ed., *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos libri XII,* Mnemosyne suppl. 79 (Leiden, 1983).

   [6] G. Queck, ed., *Statii Thebais* (Leipzig, 1854), 3–4. In the Madrid witness to the "Soluitur" argument (the only manuscript that editors have used), the version of the poem on fol. 44v, which is by a second hand, ends with "uincere Thesea Thebas," but there are guides indicating that the line should read "Thesea uincere Thebas" (the text is written properly by

puer" argument to book 6;[7] Jeudy-Riou for the "Graiorum turba" argument to the same book;[8] and Jakobi for the Cambridge argument, although I preserve the orthography of the original.[9] Professor Jakobi was kind enough to provide me with his own emendations to some of the texts I present here, which I have noted in the respective apparatus. I also make reference to the "Primus habet" general argument to Lucan. The text not listed in the *In principio* database and, to my knowledge, remains unedited. The witness I am using is London, British Library Add. 14799, fol. 2v (s. XIV–XV).[10] Lastly, as only very few ancillary texts to Statius have been edited, my citations of *accessus* and glosses are taken from my own transcriptions of the manuscripts in question.

NEW DODECASTICH ARGUMENTS TO BOOK 1

Argumenta antiqua appear in 167 of the 254 manuscripts and fragments of the *Thebaid* that I have examined,[11] but no manuscript before the fourteenth

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the text hand on fol. 46v). Unfortunately, no editor has noticed these guides. I have found no other manuscript with the former explicit.

[7] A. Klotz and T. Klinnert, eds., *Statii Thebais* (Leipzig, 1973), 476–82.

[8] Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 176–79.

[9] R. Jakobi, "Alte und neue metrische Argumente zum ersten Buch von Statius' Thebais," *Hermes* 117 (1989): 241–44.

[10] I have not found another witness to the text. The argument is as follows:

> Primus habet populique fugas et Cesaris iras.
> Terque catenatum domini post terga secundus.
> Tertius annumerat populos tibi, Magne, fauentes.
> Quartus cum socio compellit in arma Petreium.
> Aduehitur quinto lacrimans Cornelia Lesbo.
> Clauduntur muro Magni ducis hospita sexto.
> Septimus exponit bellum ciuile peractum.
> Octauo moritur Magnus dux et sepellitur.
> Dinumerat cunctos Libies penultimus angues.
> Victorem decimo recipit Phtholomeus Egipto.

The general argument is followed by unedited octostich arguments to the individual books of Lucan (*inc.* "Armatus Cesar uetitum transit Rubiconem") on fols. 2v–3v. The manuscript also includes the arguments to Lucan in *Anthologia Latina I*, ed. Riese, no. 806 (on fols. 1r–2r).

[11] See Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins* 2:525–26, nos. 42–52. The earliest manuscripts are Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek K2:F.49 (s. X–XI), a fragment including the arguments to book 4, lines 6–12, and book 5; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 10317 (s. X), containing books 2–5 and 7–12. After reconstruction of the fragments in Prague, Národní Knihovna XXIII.D.188 (s. X), the manuscript had at least space for arguments before books 10 and 11. The *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–12 (with the "Ut puer" argument to book 6) have been printed since the earliest incunabulum (Rome [?], ca. 1470; see n. 82 below), the most recent edition being Klotz and Klinnert, *Statii Thebais*, 476–82.

century includes one to the first book, and we have little evidence that medieval scholars sought to rectify its absence or even noticed it. Only three manuscripts draw our attention to the missing argument:[12] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 74 (s. XII); Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus M 93 (s. XIII); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Hamilton 609 (fifteenth-century addition). The Vatican manuscript notes, "titulus primi libri uacat" (fol. 122v); the manuscript in Antwerp, after the "Associat" argument, gives the title, "Continencia libri primi" (fol. Iv), which is followed by a blank space;[13] and the Berlin manuscript gives the ordinal number "Primus" (fol. 1r), which is followed by twelve blank lines.

Only one twelve-line argument to book 1 of the *Thebaid* has been previously edited,[14] that in Cambridge, University Library Ii.3.13 (1777),[15] fol. 1v (written in north-central Italy;[16] s. XIV ex.). This text was discovered and first edited by

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[12] I have discounted the testimony of such manuscripts as Vatican Pal. lat. 1691 (s. XIII ex./XIV in.) and Chigi H.VI.210 (dated 1420), in which the "Soluitur" and "Associat" arguments (respectively) are labeled as the "prefatio" to the first book.

[13] The page has been trimmed such that only enough room for about four lines is visible after the title; it does not seem that any text followed. R. D. Sweeney's statement that the manuscript contained a verse argument was due to his forced reliance upon the catalog (see his *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Scholia to Statius*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 8 [Leiden, 1969], 32).

[14] I shall not discuss the six-line "Pignora deuouit" and the eight-line "Oedipodes furiam" arguments to book 1 in depth here (see Jakobi, "Alte und neue metrische Argumente," 243–44; Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 25; and R. Jakobi, "Weiteres zu den 'Thebais'-Argumenta," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* [forthcoming]). The latter is also transmitted in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1417 (written at Padua in 1426), fols. 173r–v (with the same readings as *L²*, the correcting hand in London, British Library Harley 2498 [dated 1462]).

[15] This manuscript was assigned the siglum γ by R. Bentley (in annotations in London, British Library, 687.c.10). Bentley's collation was often reproduced and was last used in the edition of O. Müller (*Statii Opera*, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1870]).

[16] P. M. Clogan ("An Argument of Book 1 of Statius' *Thebaid*," *Manuscripta* 7 [1963]: 30–31) cites personal correspondence with B. L. Ullman for identifying the handwriting as Italian. The origin of the manuscript can be better pinpointed through the text of the *accessus* on fol. 2r, which is in the same hand as the argument. This *accessus* is a combination of the traditional "Quaeritur" *accessus* and an *accessus* in London, British Library Royal 15.C.x (twelfth-century addition). This combination is also transmitted in Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester 330 (written in Valentia in 1408 by the then imprisoned Gualterus of Candia); Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka Czartoryskich 1876 II (s. XII–XIII); and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 60 sup. (s. XIV ex.); it is also one of the sources for the *accessus* in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 146 Gud. lat. 2° (s. XV). There is a lacuna in the Cambridge witness of the *accessus* which corresponds to exactly one line in the Milan witness. These two witnesses also share a marginal note to the *accessus*, two words of which are rendered illegible by smudging in the Milan witness. Since the Cambridge witness leaves blank spaces at these places, it must be directly descended from the Milan witness, if not copied from it. The Milan manuscript is itself of north-central Italian origin.

P. M. Clogan,[17] and most scholars have assumed that the argument is the lost *argumentum antiquum*.[18] In my research, four new twelve-line arguments to the first book have come to light which, in addition to demonstrating a wider interest in restoring the text than has previously been recognized, afford evidence regarding the authenticity of the Cambridge argument.

The oldest of the "new" arguments to book 1 is transmitted in two manuscripts:

M = Mâcon, Bibliothèque Municipale 94 (olim 92), fol. 120v (s. XIII ex.).[19]

This manuscript was written on parchment in an Italian *gothica bastarda* script. The text of the *Thebaid* (on fols. 1r–120r) includes the *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–12 (space is left for the argument to book 6). On fol. 120v are the first five lines of the argument to book 1, which are followed by eight blank lines (the last of which is likely intended to separate the text from the text that follows). Fols. 120v–121r contain in the text hand a second copy of lines 1.710–2.54 (the version of these lines on fols. 9v–10r was written somewhat sloppily). On fol. 121v is the twelve-line "Associat" general argument, which is followed by eleven to fourteen erased lines.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon Lat. 79 (18660), fol. Iv (s. XIV).[20]

This manuscript, on parchment, was also written in Italy (perhaps Florence) in a gothic *bastarda* hand, possibly Florentine. On the verso of the first flyleaf is the argument to book 1 with several simple interlinear glosses.[21] On

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[17] Ibid., 30–31; see also Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 24; Klotz and Klinnert, *Statii Thebais* 588; W. D. Lebek, "Über das neue Argumentum zum ersten Buch von Statius' Thebais," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 24 (1977): 32; Jakobi, "Alte und neue metrische Argumente," 241–44; W. Schetter, "Argumentum Stat. Theb. 1, 9–12," *Hermes* 117 (1989): 245–6; P.-E. Barreda i Edo, "Els arguments en vers a la *Tebaida* d'Estaci," *Universitat de Barcelona, Anuari de filologia, Secció D* 13 (1990): 20–21; and J. Ebert, "Zum *argumentum* des ersten Buches der Thebais des Statius," *Philologus* 134 (1990): 234–37.

[18] Only Jakobi acknowledges some possibility of doubt when he calls the argument "[d]as verloren geglaubte dodekastichische Argumentum" ("Alte und neue metrische Argumente," 241). The most detailed argument for the authenticity of the argument is that of P.-E. Barreda i Edo ("Els arguments en vers a la *Tebaida*," 19–20), which I shall discuss below. Clogan ("An Argument," 31) believed that the argument was actually the lost preface to Lactantius Placidus's commentary to *Thebaid* 1 (Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 24, rightly refutes this).

[19] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 42 (Paris, 1904), 281–82; J. Boussard ("Le classement des manuscrits de la *Thébaïde* de Stace," *Revue des études latines* 30 [1952]: 220–51) designated this manuscript as *Ma*.

[20] H. A. Cox, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, part 3 (Oxford, 1854), 144a; and Sweeney *Prolegomena*, 28

[21] Some sample glosses are "Surculus" (1): "Statius"; "Cadmeus" (9): "Polinices"; "dux" (10) and "rex" (11): "Adrastus."

fol. 1r is the twelve-line "Associat" general argument. The *Thebaid* itself is on fols. 1r–197r.

> Surculus urbano proponit carmine. Musas
> Inuocat. Excusans post dupliciter quoque ponit.
> Edippus uocat orbus in antro Thesiphonem, que
> Terribili dans sibila uenit morbida monstro.
> 5   Concilio Thebe facto ut damnentur et Argi.
> Iupiter equus contendunt et saucia Iuno.
> Thebis discessit Polinices, per fera lustra
> Noctis et imbrifero Larissam tempore uasit.
> Cadmeus furiunt et Tideus forte reperti.
> 10   Illos duxit in atria sacraque dux reparauit.
> Sacrorum causas rex prodidit et Polinicem
> Poscit cuntantem, sacris Phebumque precatur.

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4 dans] dn̄s *M fort. pro* dās   5 concilio *Jakobi* : consilio *MO (post 5 dificit M)*
6 equus *scripsi* : asper *Jakobi* : iratus *O*   9 cadmeius *O (sed contra metrum)*

Commentary:

1   *Urbano:* The most likely source for this epithet is Ps.-Boethius, *De disci-plina scolarium* 1.8 ("Stacii urbanitas").[22] The only other instances of this description in conjunction with Statius are in the *Vita Meinwerci* ("viguit Oratius magnus et Virgilius, Crispus ac Salustius et urbanus Statius")[23] and the *Hoc ex ordine* compendium to the *Achilleid* ("Urbane Mantuanum uatem commendat").[24]

Proponit . . . inuocat (2): cf. *Anthologia Latina I*, ed. Riese, no. 806.I (to book 1 of Lucan), lines 1–2, "Proponit primus liber, invehit, invocat atque exponit causas."

Proponit . . . invocat. Excusans (2): It is very common to find a tripartite rhetorical division of the beginning of a text: *proponit, inuocat,* and *nar-*

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[22] This passage is quoted in only one manuscript of Statius that I have seen, Cambridge, University Library Peterhouse 228 (s. xii ex./xiii in.), fol. 3v.
[23] *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis* 160 (ed. F. Tenckhoff, MGH Scriptores Re-rum Germanicarum 59 [Hannover, 1921], 84.11–13). Cf. M. Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter in Mittelalter," *Philologus* 52 (1894): 541. In Tenckhoff's edi-tion, as in the edition of G. H. Pertz (MGH Scriptores 11 [1854], 140.31), *urbanus* is capital-ized, suggesting that the reference is actually to some Urbanus Statius.
[24] Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 161.

rat.[25] In a few *accessus* to Statius, a fourth division is noted: *excusat.*[26] It is, however, usually in reference to the *Achilleid* that we find reference to Statius's excuse for not writing about Domitian; only a handful of manuscripts of the *Thebaid* have notes that make such a claim.

2   *Post . . . ponit:* Broad tmeses of this sort are more medieval than classical.[27]

3   *Edippus uocat . . . Thesiphonem:* cf. line 1 of the Cambridge argument ("Thesiphonem uocat Edipodes").

    Orbus: cf. *Theb.* 1.74 ("orbum uisu regnisque carentem").

    Que: We find the relative pronoun at the end of its line only twice in the *Thebaid,* at 2.186 ("et quae") and 3.180 ("ex quo"). It is always preceded by a monosyllable.[28]

4   *Sibila:* cf. *Theb.* 1.115 ("fera sibila").

5   *Thebe . . . damnentur . . . Argi:* A verb is placed between its two subjects three times in this argument: here and in lines 6 and 9.

6   *Equus:* The reading *iratus* likely stems from a gloss. My emendation is based on *Theb.* 1.286 and line 3 of the Cambridge argument; Jakobi's is based on *Theb.* 1.284.

    Saucia Iuno: cf. *Theb.* 1.248–50 ("saucia . . . Iuno").

7   *Lustra noctis* (8): cf. *Theb.* 1.403–4: ("nocte . . . lustra").

9   *Cadmeus:* The adjectives *Cadmeus, -a, -um* (never found in the first foot) and *Cadmeius, -a, -um* (found only in the fourth and fifth feet) are never used substantively in the *Thebaid.*

10   *Dux:* Adrastus himself is referred to as *dux* (except in association with the other *duces*) only once in the *Thebaid,* at 2.202.

11   *Rex:* Adrastus is introduced at *Theb.* 1.390 as "rex."

12   *Cuntantem:* cf. *Theb.* 1.467 ("cunctatur proferre patrem").

[25] See E. Curtius, *Europaïsche Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter,* 2d ed. (Bern, 1954), 491.

[26] Such is the case in the *accessus* to the *Achilleid* in Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 27 (dated 1119) and in a marginal note to the *Thebaid* in New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library 166 (s. xv).

[27] See D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale,* Studia latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm, 1958), 58.

[28] On the rarity of lines ending in monosyllables in the *Thebaid,* see W. Ott, *Metrische Analysen zu Statius Thebais Buch 1,* Materialen zu Metrik und Stilistik 5 (Tübingen, 1973), 45. Of the three lines in book 1 that end in monosyllables, only one (625) is not preceded by a monosyllable.

This argument is clearly of medieval origin: the first line cites "Surculus," the cognomen given to Statius in the Middle Ages,[29] and then echoes the medieval division of narration into "proponit," "inuocat," and "narrat," although the last term is not used.[30] The late date of the text is shown by the author's overwhelming interest in achieving artistic effect, which is apparent in the abundance of bucolic diereses (in lines 1, 3, 4, and 6–11). The author's poetic intentions were much greater than his abilities, however, as lines 3 and 4 show ("Edippus uocat orbus in antro Thesiphonem, que | Terribili dans sibila uenit morbida monstro"). In line 4, the author has attempted to compose a "silver" or at least a chiastic line, but the liberties taken to achieve the effect result only in marring the line. The main verb "uenit" is in the perfect even though it is subordinate to the present "uocat" in line 3. Further, the sense of the line is arrived at only through the use of a monosyllabic participle "dans," which, objectionable as it is in itself, forces a dieresis immediately after the B1 caesura. This, in light of the following bucolic dieresis, creates an overall unpleasant effect.

As a whole, this argument adheres closely to the text of the *Thebaid,* with six of its lines containing words that occur in the passage being summarized. It also has one possible relationship to the Cambridge argument, in line 3, but this similarity may be one of coincidence alone.

A surer familiarity with the Cambridge argument is apparent in an argument transmitted in a manuscript at Olomouc:

Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna M.I.167, fol. 12r (s. XV ex.).[31]

This manuscript is written on paper (there is a watermark similar to Piccard, *Ochsenkopf* XIII.231, but not close enough for a true comparison) in a Bavarian-Austrian *bastarda* hand. On fol. 11v is an *accessus* to the *Thebaid.* On fol. 12r is the "Soluitur" argument, followed by the twelve-line argument to the first book, written by the same hand in a more compressed

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[29] The medieval cognomen of Statius stems from confusion with the rhetor L. Statius Ursulus. See M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur,* 4th ed., 4 vols. (Munich, 1927–35), 4:151, no. 1; and G. Brugnoli, "Stazio in Dante," *Cultura neolatina* 29 (1969): 117–25. This error was first recognized and corrected by Niccolò Perotti (whose commentary to the *Silvae* is now in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6835). The most in-depth and most often reproduced discussion of the origin of Statius's medieval identity is that of J. Gevartius in his commentary to the *Thebaid* (*P. Papinii Statii Opera* [Leiden, 1616], 3–10).

[30] Cf. line 1 of the heptastich argument to *Achilleid* 1: "Themate proposito narrat Thetis alma . . ." (Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 169 n. 3).

[31] M. Boháček and F. Čáda, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz* (Cologne, 1994), 89–91, no. 37

script. There is one interlinear note to the text: "portis (8): Prosynne."[32] The text of the *Thebaid* is on fols. 12v–127v and includes the *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–12, with the "Ut puer" argument to book 6.

Argumentum primi libri

Oedipodes plangens in celum et Tartara cecus
Tesiphonem pulsat. Herebo illa perotius exit
Ad Thebas. Rapit inde furens discordia fratrum
Pectora. Concilio queritur diuum vndique vindex
5   Terrarum delicta pater. Yuno fauet Argis.
Mittitur infernoque Ioui Cylennia proles.
Interea Aonie Polinices rura pererrans
Infertur portis ad Adrasta patentibus. Illi
Concurrit Tideus. Pugnant. Quos mulcet Adrastus.
10   Deprendit responsa deum quom pelle leonis
Polinicem exuuiisque suis, tunc Tidea cernit
Vestitos. Reficit. Phebeia sacra geruntur.

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4 vndique *scripsi* : impia *Jakobi* : vtique MS   7 pererrans *ex* pererratis MS

Commentary:

1   *Oedipodes . . . cecus . . . Tesiphonem* (2): cf. line 1 of the Cambridge argument ("Thesiphonem uocat Edipodes Stige cecus ab ima"). The use of "Oedipodes" could also be derived from *Theb.* 1.47–48 ("damnatum nocte pudorem Oedipodes").

    Oedipodes plangens: The phrase might betray some familiarity with at least the title of the *Planctus* of Oedipus.[33] Since most of the manuscripts of that poem transmit a different title, however, a relationship is not likely.[34]

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[32] Cf. *Theb.* 1.383.
[33] Most recently edited by P. M. Clogan, "The *Planctus* of Oedipus: Text and Comment," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 1 (1970): 233–39.
[34] Only St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 865 (s. XII) transmits the title "Planctus Edipi." The other transmitted titles are "Conquerimonia Oedipi" (London, British Library Burney 158 [s. XII/XIII]), "Lamentationes Oedipodis Thebarum regis" (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale IV.719 [dated 1419]), "Rithmi per Iullium Cesarem compositi de lamentatione Edipi" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France nouv. acq. lat. 1152 [s. XV]), and "De Pollinice et Theoche" (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 34 [407] [s. XII]).

2   *Herebo . . . exit:* cf. line 2 of the *argumentum antiquum* for book 2:
      ("Excitusque Erebo iam saevus Laius ibat").

      Perotius . . . ad Thebas (3): cf. *Theb.* 1.101 ("notum iter ad Thebas; ne-
      que enim uelocior [it uias]").

4   *Pectora:* cf. *Theb.* 1.110 ("caerulei redeunt in pectora nodi").

      Concilio . . . diuum: cf. *Theb.* 1.198 ("concilio diuum conuenerat ordo").

      Queritur . . . delicta (5): cf. *Theb.* 1.214–15 ("terrarum delicta nec exa-
      turabile Diris ingenium mortale queror").

      Diuum . . . pater (5): cf. *Theb.* 1.79–80 ("et uidet ista deorum ignauus
      genitor? tu saltem debita uindex") and 178–79 ("summe deorum terra-
      rumque sator").

      Vndique: Jakobi's emendation ("impia") is based on *Theb.* 1.281.

6   *Mittitur . . . proles:* cf. line 5 of the Cambridge argument ("Mittitur in-
      fernis proles Cillenia regnis").

7   *Aonie . . . pererrans:* cf. *Theb.* 1.313–14 ("pererrat Aoniae"),

8   *Infertur portis:* cf. *Theb.* 1.385–86 ("tandemque reclusis infertur por-
      tis").

9   *Mulcet:* cf. *Theb.* 1.478: ("mulcentem dictis corda aspera").

10   *Deprendit:* cf. *Theb.* 1.510 ("deprendi, Fortuna, deos").

11   *Exuuiis . . . uestitos* (12): Cf. *Theb.* 1.487–90 ("uestitus . . . exuuiae").

12   *Reficit:* cf. *Theb.* 1.555–56 ("refecti . . . ignes").

The affinity between this argument and the Cambridge argument is most ap-
parent in line 6, which is lifted almost verbatim from line 5 of the Cambridge
argument, with the emphasis here being on Pluto ("inferno Ioui") and not on
the Underworld ("infernis . . . regnis").

Like the author of the Oxford-Mâcon argument, this author had a propensity
for concentrating poetic effects, including five hephthemimeral caesuras (in
lines 3, 6, 9, 10, and 11) and two one-word sentences (in lines 9 and 12, for
which neither the subjects nor the objects are explicit). The argument is also
noteworthy for the compact and interwoven use of the text of the *Thebaid.* For
example, the sentence in lines 4–5 ("Concilio queritur diuum undique uindex
terrarum delicta pater") incorporates elements from lines 198 ("concilio di-
uum"), 214–15 ("terrarum delicta . . . queror"), 79–80 ("deorum . . . genitor
. . . uindex"), and possibly even 178–79 ("deorum terrarumque sator").

The most outstanding aspect of this argument in regard to the other argu-
ments is its adherence to the text of the *Thebaid,* not only in verbal parallels,
which occur in almost every line, but also in content. As the table on p. 236

shows, this argument treats more episodes of book 1 than does any other extant twelve-line argument. This suggests that the argument arose out of an interest in expanding (if not correcting) the information in the Cambridge argument.

The third and the most important new argument to book 1 is transmitted in two manuscripts in Florence:

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 18 sin. 4, fol. 1v (s. XIV ex., ante 1406).[35]

This manuscript, which is on paper in an Italian *gothico-antiqua* script, was either written in Florence or was brought there shortly after being written (a note on fol. 115r reads: "Iste liber fuit ad usum Fratris Thedaldi de Casa, quem uiuens assignauit Armario Fratrum Minorum Florentini conuentus. MCCCCVI"). It contains the *Thebaid* on fols. 2r–115r with some interlinear and marginal notes. The twelve-line *argumenta antiqua* precede books 2–3, 5 and 7–12 (space is left for the arguments to books 4 and 6).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 38.1, fols. IIra et 1ra (s. XIV–XV).[36]

This manuscript, which is written on parchment in Italy in a *gothico-antiqua* script, transmits two copies of the argument to the first book. On fol. IIra-b is a "rough draft" of the texts on fols. 1ra–1va, including the argument to book 1 and *Theb.* 1.1–33, 35, and 43–53 with several lacunae and spaces left for the (unexecuted) initials. In contrast, the text on fol. 1ra, containing the argument and *Theb.* 1.1–52, is written with justified lines and executed initials. The *Thebaid* ends on fol. 71va, and is followed by the *Achilleid* on fols. 71va–80vb. Books 2–3, 5 and 7–12 of the *Thebaid* are preceded by their respective twelve-line *argumenta antiqua* (that for book 3 lacks line 11; no space has been left for the argument to book 4 [that portion of the manuscript is written by a second hand] and a space of only 8 lines precedes book 6). These are the only two manuscripts I have found in which only the arguments to books 1, 4, and 6 are wanting.

> Associat profugum Tydeo primus Polinicem.
> Tesiphonem uocat Oedippodes Stige cecus ab ima,

[35] See A. M. Bandinius, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. 4 (Florence, 1777), col. 132; and Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 25.

[36] See A. M. Bandinius, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1775), col. 259; Boussard ("Le classement") designated this manuscript as *NN*.

Bella det ut natis quibus est germanus et ipse.
Iuppiter et Thebis bellum canit equus et Argis;
5   Facta licet frustra pertemptet uertere Iuno.
Mercurius tenebris Layum reuocauit ab imis,
Qui faciat fratri regnum fatale negari.
Adueniunt simul Inachiis Cadmeius exul
Finibus et Tydeus plures ubi rexit Adrastus,
10   Agnouitque sibi generos per fata uocari.
Dat monstrum Phebus, quod uincit Marte Chorebus
Seque dedit nimiam compescens numinis iram.

Commentary:

1   *Associat . . . Polinicem* = line 1 of the "Associat" general argument.

2   *Tesiphonem . . . Iuno* (5) = lines 1–4 of the Cambridge argument.

5   *Facta . . . pertemptet:* The Cambridge argument reads "fata . . . pretemp-
      tet." The difference between *fata* and *facta* is merely one of orthog-
      raphy.[37] *Pertempto* and *praetempto* are themselves synonyms, even in
      classical usage.

6   *Layum:* This may support Jakobi's emendation of "inde ut" to "Laius" in
      his edition of the Cambridge argument (line 6).

7   *Fratri regnum . . . negari:* cf. *Theb.* 3.342 ("fratri sua iura negari").[38]

8   *Inachiis . . . finibus* (9): cf. *Theb.* 1.380 ("ab Inachiis . . . tectis").

9   *Tydeus plures:* The phrase is similar to line 8 of the Cambridge argu-
      ment: "Tydea (Titide MS) Pleuron".

      Plures . . . Adrastus: cf. *Theb.* 1.391 ("populos A d r a s t u s habebat").
      The *N* manuscript of the *Thebaid* (Cologny-Geneva, Biblioteca Bod-
      meriana 154, s. X–XI) reads "ubi" instead of "ibi" at 1.390, which would
      be a very good source for this line, but since *N* was written in Germany
      (or perhaps at Corbie), the connection is difficult to make.[39]

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[37] Cf. V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire,* 3d ed. (Paris, 1981), 65, no. 123.

[38] A variant, "fratri sua regna negari," is found in some manuscripts, such as the florile-
gium in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana lat. XIII.114 (4479), fol. 128r (s. xv).

[39] I owe this observation to R. Jakobi. The hand that wrote *N* appears to be German, and
the neumes that are on some of the lines certainly are German (see E. Pellegrin, *Manuscrits
latins de la Bodmeriana* [Cologny-Geneva, 1982], 361). However, the text has a close rela-
tionship with two manuscripts that were copied at Corbie, which leads R. J. Getty ("The Saint
Germain MS. of the *Thebaid* [Paris B.N. 13046]," *The Classical Quarterly* 27 [1933]: 135–
36) to argue that it, too, was copied there. See B. L. Ullman, "A List of Classical Manuscripts
(in an Eighth-Century Codex) Perhaps from Corbie," *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 32.

10   *Agnouit . . . fata:* cf. line 9 of the Cambridge argument ("Hos generos per fata suos cognouit Adrastus").

     Agnouit . . . uocari: cf. *Theb.* 1.492 ("agnoscens . . . uocalibus antris").

11   *Monstrum . . . Chorebus:* cf. line 11 of the Cambridge argument ("Chorebe . . . monstrum [matrum MS]).

     Chorebus seque (12): cf. *Theb.* 1.605–6: ("Coroebus seque").

This argument immediately presents us with two problems: the first line of the argument is lifted from the "Associat" general argument; and lines 2–5 are identical to lines 1–4 of the Cambridge argument. Further, although the last seven lines of the argument are original, they maintain a close relationship with the Cambridge argument, especially in line 10; and (as the table on p. 236 shows), the two arguments present us with summaries of the same events and, outside of the general argument at the beginning of the Florence argument, neither argument provides any information not found in the other. The arguments are, thus, clearly interrelated. The question, then, is which one was composed first. We can extend this question to one of whether any of the extant arguments to book 1 is the lost *argumentum antiquum.*

It is clear that neither the Oxford-Mâcon argument nor the Olomouc argument predates the Middle Ages, since they both have far too many medieval lexical and stylistic features. In contrast, the Cambridge and Florence arguments are more ancient in character. The first line of the Florence argument shows that the argument is not antique,[40] but the case of the Cambridge argument is much more difficult. Outside of the apostrophes in lines 8–12, a figure that is atypical of antique arguments,[41] there is not enough internal evidence in the Cambridge argument to discount its antiquity. Some external clues as to its authenticity are, however, provided by the Florence argument.[42]

In arguing that the Cambridge argument was the lost *argumentum antiquum,* P.-E. Barreda i Edo stressed that if the poem had been composed in the

[40] We could argue that the Florence argument is an antique argument that somehow lost a line and that the first line of the "Associat" general argument was subsequently incorporated into the poem. There is, however, no internal evidence for a missing line.

[41] The only instances I have found are in later arguments: line 3 of the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century "Primus habet" general argument to Lucan; in line 6 of a ten-line argument to Seneca's tragedies in London, British Library Burney 250 (s. xv), fol. 4r: "Sexta docet mortem pueri, Pulisena, tuamque"; and in Orico da Capriana's *Summa memorialis* of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* line 2.8 ("niger es"). Schetter's use of Ovid, *Met.* 15.865–67 as a precedent is flawed logic ("Argumentum Stat. Theb. 1, 9–12," 246).

[42] For the sake of the argument that follows, I assume that the Cambridge argument was composed before the Florence argument. This is an arbitrary choice, and had I assumed the priority of the Florence argument, the same line of reasoning would be followed *mutatis mutandis.*

fourteenth century, it would not be transmitted in so corrupt a state.[43] But as demonstrated above, there is a close relationship between the Cambridge and Florence arguments, even in the lines that are not shared. It follows, then, that the author of the Florence argument knew the Cambridge argument (or its parent) in its entirety. For this reason, we cannot argue that the author of the Florence argument tried to reconstruct lost portions of his original. Rather, he must have chosen to rewrite parts of the Cambridge argument, presumably those deemed unsatisfactory.[44] Thus, our question should not be why the argument is in its present state, but rather what sort of text a fourteenth-century scholar would feel entitled to recast.

Medieval treatises on libraries and scriptoria commonly warn scribes to avoid correcting or interpolating into authoritative texts, even when they are in an unsatisfactory condition.[45] We would sooner expect a scribe to attempt to emend the text or to repair the lacunae than to recast entirely the problematic lines. The inconsistencies between the two texts show that the original of the two was seen not as an authoritative text but rather as a contemporary and modifiable one. The best explanation for the relationship between the two texts is that they are both *recollectiones* taken from the same source.[46]

[43] "L'argument del llibre 1 ha d'ésser considerat autèntic fer força, car si hagués estat fet per un humanista al segle XIV . . . , no presentaria un estat de corrupció tan evident" (Barreda i Edo, "Els arguments en vers a la *Tebaida*," 19–20).

[44] The Cambridge argument is marred by textual problems which begin in the fifth line, where it and the Florence argument diverge.

[45] Cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* 94.3–4 (ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), 320: "Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis, | Frivola nec propter erret et ipsa manus" (cf. D. Ganz, "The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule," *Viator* 18 [1987]: 33). This precept is seen in practice in the case of the tenth/eleventh-century correcting hand of St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 174: "Liber optimus nimis autem uitiose scriptus. Hunc ego quidem corrigere per me (exemplar aliud non habens) si poteram temptaui. . . . Nihil autem nisi ubi certissimus eram abradere uolui; omnia uero quae ascripsi sanioris lectoris arbitrio reliqui" (p. 1; see A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* [forthcoming]) and in the eleventh-century scribe of London, British Library Royal 15.C.xi: "Exemplar mendum tandem me compulit ipsum | Cunctantem nimium Plautum exemplarier istum; | Ne graspicus mendis proprias idiota repertis | Adderet, et liber hic falso patre falsior esset" (fol. 194r; see B. Munk Olsen, "La trasmissione dei testi nei secoli XI e XII," in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo, 1. Il medioevo latino, vol. III: La ricezione del testo*, ed. G. Cavallo et al. [Rome, 1995], 411 n. 101).

[46] Put briefly, the term *recollectio* refers to a process whereby notes from lectures which students (or clerks) made in a highly abbreviated style (likely termed *reportatio*) and later expanded to a full text. As such, the *recollectiones* of different students may vary considerably. See M. L. Lord, "The Commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* by Benvenuto da Imola: A Comparative Study of the *Recollectiones*," *Euphrosyne*, n.s., 22 (1994): 373–401, esp. 382; in nn. 29–31 Lord lists several examples of texts which are extant in different versions because

Because of the family of manuscripts to which the Cambridge manuscript belongs, it is tempting to suggest that there is a link between the Cambridge/Florence argument[47] and "Graiorum turba" argument to book 6,[48] but there is no real evidence for this at this point. We do, however, have some evidence for the reception of the Cambridge/Florence argument. Since the Olomouc argument has closer parallels to the Cambridge version than it does to the Florence one,[49] the Cambridge tradition appears to have been the more widespread. Further, the Olomouc argument demonstrates that, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Cambridge/Florence argument was known as far away as Bavaria/Austria.[50]

There is one last argument to book 1 of the *Thebaid* which I have intentionally kept separate from this discussion, as it was most surely composed in the early modern era. It is found in an eighteenth-century manuscript in Madrid:

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 2620, fol. 234r (s. XVIII).[51]

Written on paper in an elegant cursive hand, this manuscript contains a collection of epigrams and verse arguments, including poems of Johannes Baptista Bagiocchi, Mattias Casimirus Sabienius, Theander, and Justus Petrus Sautel. The arguments to classical authors include arguments to Vir-

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of this process. Such texts need not arise solely because of different students' *reportationes*, however; some of the variances among the witnesses to Benvenuto da Imola's commentaries to the *Eclogues* are to be ascribed to different lectures (see ibid., 400–401), and some lectures continued to circulate even after they had been superseded. For example, Albertinus Mussatus composed two different commentaries to Seneca's *Octavia*, both of which enjoyed wide circulation, even despite the historical inaccuracies of the first version. See A. Ch. Megas, Ὁ προουμανιστικὸς κύκλος τῆς Πάδουας (Thessalonike, 1967), 36 (cf. the summary in English on 230) and his *Albertini Mussati Argumenta Tragoediarum Senecae* (Thessalonike, 1969), 2–3.

[47] I use this term to refer to the elder of the Cambridge and Florence arguments or the tradition to which they belong.

[48] The argument is found in the Cambridge manuscript as well as in most of the manuscripts that share the *accessus* discussed in n. 16 above (see also n. 61 below).

[49] See especially line 6 of the Olomouc argument.

[50] The Olomouc manuscript shows features typical of the tradition in Bavaria/Austria as well as that in Italy. The *accessus* on fol. 11v, for example, is related to an *accessus* to the *Achilleid* in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 13685 (s. XV ex.), which is also of Bavarian/Austrian origin, but the version of the "Soluitur" argument on fol. 12r of the Olomouc manuscript has a mixing of lines that we otherwise find only in manuscripts of north-central Italian origin (see n. 73 below).

[51] M. Bordonan, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca nacional*, vol. 8 (Madrid, 1965), 113–14.

gil's *Georgics, Aeneid,*[52] and the *Eclogues* (*inc.* "Egloga prima sui qua lau-
dat Tytirus oti . . ."); Alcuin's *Versus de Virgilio;*[53] an argument to book 1
of the *Thebaid,* followed by the *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–12
with the "Ut puer" argument to book 6; the "Themate proposito" arguments
to the *Achilleid;*[54] octostich arguments to Lucan (*inc.* "Primus habet belli
causas atque actus ab ira . . ."); an argument to Juvenal (*inc.* "Prima docet
satyrae causam . . ."); arguments to Horace's *Satires* (*inc.* "Damnat auari-
tiam finem dans prima petendis . . .") and *Epistles* (*inc.* "Ad Mecenatem
quae fertur epistola prima . . ."); and an argument to Persius (incomplete,
inc. "Vates, vota ignavus princeps liber avarum . . ."). There are then sev-
eral didactic poems on the zodiac, the pronunciation of letters, the Seven
Wonders and so forth.

    Edipode precibus tetris Acherontis ab vndis
    Thisiphone exitur. Sæua hæc in prælia fratres
    Ethioclen et Polinica cient. Non annua regni
    Iura placent, eadem populis sententia cordi est.
5   Mercurius Iouis imperiis ad Tartara tendit,
    Laius ut superas iterum revocetur ad auras,
    Qui natos, Iocasta, tuos pariterque nepotes
    In bellum exacuat, renuat Saturnia quamvis.
    Ad solium Adrasti Polinises confugit; illuc
10   Confugit et Tideus dubiique oracula Phæbi
    Explicuere. Senex Adrastus sacra deorum
    Quæ facit exponit famosaque facta Corebi.

Commentary:

4 *iura:* cf. *Theb.* 1.139: ("iure maligno").

   eadem . . . est: cf. *Theb.* 1.195–6: ("tolerandaque nullis aspera sors
   populis").

5 *Iouis imperiis:* cf. *Theb.* 1.197 ("at Iouis imperiis").

6 *Laius . . . auras:* cf. *Theb.* 1.295–96 ("superas senior se attollat ad auras
   Laius").

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[52] *Anthologia Latina I,* ed. Riese, nos. 1–2.

[53] Ibid., no. 740.

[54] These were first printed in the 1473 Parma edition (no. 14987 in L. Hain, *Repertorium
bibliographicum* [Stuttgart and Paris, 1826–38]) and recently edited by Jeudy and Riou
("L'*Achilléide*," 169–70 n. 3).

There are three reasons why this argument cannot be antique. First, all antique and medieval arguments make an effort to use phrases from the text being encapsulated, often in the same case, but the author of the Madrid argument makes clear use of the wording of the *Thebaid* only in line 6. For the most part, the author of the argument uses phrases which are only distantly related to the text (e.g., at line 4, "iura placent," which might be related to "iure maligno" in *Theb.* 1.139). Second, the argument does not adhere to the order of the story as it is presented in the poem: in line 8 the position of Juno in her debate with Jupiter is placed after the description of the mission of Mercury to retrieve Laius. Third, and most importantly, the author chose to summarize an event which, in comparison to the information summarized in the *argumenta antiqua*, is insignificant: line 4, "eadem populis sententia cordi est," which encapsulates *Theb.* 1.171–96, in which "aliquis" (171) bemoans the lot of the citizens under a tyrant. This is a minor event in the *Thebaid,* one which neither has any bearing on the plot nor involves a main character, and I have been unable to find an interest in similar information in an antique or medieval argument to any author. Rather, the decision to summarize this episode seems to reflect sensibilities that are more modern, or at least more Romantic, than medieval. The author's tendency toward the Romantic is also evident from the apostrophe to Jocasta in line 7, as she neither participates in nor is mentioned in the episode. As such, the author of the argument clearly deviates from the traditional form of verse arguments, in which a poet aimed only for accurate encapsulation of plot-specific episodes, and in which keen attention to the sequence of events within the work was of first and foremost importance. What interpretation there was made its presence known only *a priori*, through the selection of events.

It is unclear where or in what context this argument was created. The manuscript seems to have been compiled by an eighteenth-century scholar who wished to collect verse arguments to all major Latin poems, but the source of the arguments is unclear. For example, its version of the *argumenta antiqua* for books 2–5 and 7–12 presents us with a few errors and orthographic variants that are not transmitted in contemporary editions,[55] which suggests that they may have been copied from a manuscript source. Moreover, orthographic inconsistencies between the argument to book 1 and those to the other books suggest that the texts were not copied from the same source.[56] It appears that the argument to book 1 was not taken from an antique source but was rather composed by a contemporary hand or by the compiler of the manuscript himself out of an interest in thoroughness.

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[55] Cf. "erebo" *ex* "ergo" (line 2 in the argument to book 2) and "federa" (ibid., line 9).

[56] Especially "Tideus" (line 10); cf. "Thydei" (line 7 in the argument to book 2).

Elements of Book 1 Summarized in the Arguments

Event (approximate lines)	Cambridge	Oxford-Mâcon	Olomouc	Florence	Madrid
General Summary				X	
Narrative Introduction		X			
Invocation of the Fury (56–113)	X	X	X	X	X
Arrival of the Fury (114–96)					X
Council of the Gods (197–302)		X	X		
Jupiter and Juno (214–82)	X	X	X	X	X[57]
Mission of Mercury (283–311)	X		X	X	X
Arrival at Argos (312–400)	X	X	X	X	X
Fight (401–38)		X	X		
Reconciliation (447–81)		X	X		
Recognition (482–97)	X		X	X	X
Prayer (673–720)	X	X	X	X	X

A NEW DODECASTICH ARGUMENT TO BOOK 6

Of the 167 manuscripts of the *Thebaid* I have seen that transmit one or more *argumenta antiqua,* only fifty-six include an argument to book 6.[58] In contrast to the argument to book 1, whose absence only a few scribes seemed to notice, most manuscripts note the absence of this argument.[59] Forty-seven of the manuscripts containing an argument to the sixth book transmit the "Ut puer" argument[60] and another eleven transmit the later "Graiorum turba" argument[61] (two manuscripts transmit both arguments).[62]

[57] In the argument, this event is treated out of sequence.

[58] In this figure I am excluding manuscripts that have an unrelated argument in place of the argument to book 6, such as Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library 130 (s. xii med.) and Vat. lat. 1616 (s. xiii), which transmit the "Soluitur" and "Associat" general arguments, respectively, before book 6.

[59] The most common way of noting its absence is by leaving a space of twelve lines before the sixth book. The oldest manuscripts that do this are Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Rep. I, 12 and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 5337–38 (both s. xi). In C. Barth's "best" manuscripts, the sixth line of the "Soluitur" argument is supposedly transmitted in place of an argument to the sixth book (see his *Animadversiones ad Thebaidem* [Zwickau, 1664], 3:338). The only manuscripts which I have seen that fit this description are Tortosa, Archivo capitular 148 (s. xii) and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Gronov. 67 (s. xiii).

[60] This argument occurs in no manuscript before the twelfth century. It is first transmitted in: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Aed. 197 (s. xii); Oxford, Magdalen College Library lat. 18 (s. xii); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 8061 (s. xii); Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 808 (s. xii); and Vatican Pal. lat. 1690 (s. xii in.).

[61] This argument was likely composed in the fourteenth century (the text is edited by Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 178–79). In addition to the four Vatican manuscripts cited by

The authenticity of the "Ut puer" argument was first challenged by A. Klotz in 1908. On the basis of a general lack of enjambment and the transmission of a complete verse from the *Thebaid* (6.250, in line 3), Klotz contended that the argument was too unlike the other arguments to have been by the same author.[63] We can discount the first of Klotz's points since the subject of the book, being a series of games, lends itself readily to a series of monostich summaries, as stylistically unpleasant as that may be. His second reservation, however, is quite valid. The "Graiorum turba" argument, which was created without apparent knowledge of the "Ut puer" argument, shares these characteristics: there is only one instance of enjambment (only at the end of line 3) and it transmits part of the *Thebaid* in its text (line 7 quotes the last four feet of line 6.661). C. Jeudy argued that this argument is late,[64] and the relationship between this argument and the Cambridge argument supports her assessment.[65]

A third argument to the book is transmitted in a manuscript in Milan:

Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AG.XI.29 (olim AN.XVI.26), fol. 45r (XII-XIII s.)

Written on parchment in Italy in a *gothica rotunda* script, this manuscript contains an *accessus* to the *Thebaid* on fol. 2v[66] and the *Thebaid* itself on fols. 3r–108v. Books 2, 4–5, and 7–12 are preceded by their respective twelve-line *argumenta antiqua*.[67] Our argument follows the end of book 5 without a break (it does, however, have a simple three-line initial).

Jeudy and Riou, the argument is found in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, University Library Ii.3.13 (s. XIV ex.); Montecassino, Biblioteca della Badia 395 (s. XIII/XIV); Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S. XX.5 (s. XIV); Holkham Hall 330 (dated 1408); London, British Library Add. 11995 (s. XIV/XV); Milan M 60 sup. (s. XIV ex.); and Wolfenbüttel 146 Gud. lat. 2° (s. XV).

[62] London Add. 11995 (s. XIV/XV) and Vatican Chigi H.VIII.272 (s. XV)

[63] A. Klotz, "Die Argumente zur Thebais des Statius," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 15 (1908): 261

[64] See Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 178; and Barreda i Edo, "Els arguments en vers a la *Tebaida*," 15–24.

[65] See above at n. 48. There is, however, no direct evidence that the two arguments are the products of the same school.

[66] According to a card on file at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, there are two *accessus*. I could find only one.

[67] A similar transmission of the arguments is found in Florence Aed. 197 (s. XII-XIII), containing the arguments to books 2, 4–5, and 7–12, with the "Ut puer" argument before book 6; Florence 38.2 (s. XV), containing the arguments to books 2, 4–5, and 7–12; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.E.45 (dated 1472), containing the arguments to books 2, 4–5, and 7–12; and Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1266 (s. XIII), containing those to books 2.1–6, 4–5, and 7–11).

"Institui ludos," Danaas it Fama per urbes.
Arthemoro celebres, rogus huic templumque dicatur.
Fit rogus hinc angui prepurgans crimina belli.
Bellica non solum sed quam uicinia mittit
5   Virtus ad ludos; simul omnis conuenit etas.
Amphiaraus equis uincit, pede Parthonopeus.
Cratera Herculeum dono augur; equum accipit Arthas.
Ypomedon disco superat, Capaneus quoque cestu.
Tigridis exuuias capit hic, dona ille refutat.
10   Premia habet nitidę Tydeus nitida arma palestrę,
Palmam habet et galeam, gladio ne dimicet exul.
Missa sagitta redit reditumque spondet Adrasto.

Commentary:

1   *Institui ludos Danaas:* cf. the line 2 of the "Ut puer" argument ("Insti-
      tuunt Danai ludos").

      Danaas . . . Fama . . . urbes: cf. *Theb.* 6.1–2 ("Danaas perlabitur urbes
      Fama").

3   *Angui . . . crimina belli:* cf. *Theb.* 6.86–87 ("quae crimina caesi anguis
      et infausti cremet atra piacula belli").

4   *Bellica . . . uirtus* (5): cf. *Theb.* 6.730 ("haec bellis et ferro proxima uir-
      tus").

      Mittit uirtus ad ludos (5): cf. *Theb.* 6.295 ("uocat ad sua praemia uir-
      tus").

5   *Conuenit etas:* cf. *Theb.* 6.252–53 ("quos prima reliquerat aetas, con-
      ueniunt").

7   *Cratera Herculeum:* cf. *Theb.* 6.531–32 ("cratera ferebant Herculeum").
      There are seven elisions in this argument, three of which are concentrated
      in this line. The others are in line 9 (one), line 10 (two), and line 11 (one).

8   *Ypomedon disco . . . Capaneus . . . cestu:* cf. lines 8–9 of the "Ut puer"
      argument ("Hippomedon disco . . . Capanei caestibus"), although the
      similarity may be only coincidental.

      Capaneus: In the *Thebaid,* the name is scanned both *Capanēŭs* (e.g.,
      3.648), as here, and *-nēŭs* (e.g., 4.166).

10   *Tydeus . . . arma . . . Palmam* (11): cf. *Theb.* 6.905–6 ("palmam autem
      dextra laeuaque nitentia dono arma ferens Tydeus").

11   *Exul:* This epithet is given to Tydeus at line *Theb.* 6.913; at line 914 the duel is called off.

12   *Reditum . . . spondet:* cf. *Theb.* 6.946 ("spondebat . . . recursus").

One virtue of the "Institui ludos" argument is that it provides us with a much better summary of the book than do the other arguments. The "Ut puer" argument, for example, does not mention the funeral, and it does not mention all of the victors (specifically Amphiaraus) or discuss the ramifications of the final contest, an event which the "Graiorum turba" argument does not discuss at all.[68] The "Institui ludos" argument, further, is also the only argument that mentions either the atonement for the serpent (line 3) or the role of the games as a surrogate for warfare (line 4). Furthermore, although the "Institui ludos" argument does have a close relation to the passages it summarizes (such as "cratera Herculeum," line 7), it does not directly quote any phrases from the poem, a shortcoming that mars its two counterparts. This argument is, however, not without its own stylistic problems. The first is the first-person statement at the beginning of line 1 ("Institui ludos"), for which I cannot find an antique parallel;[69] the second is the abundance of elisions (line 7 contains three, line 10 contains two, and lines 9 and 11 each contain one), which are atypical of the *argumenta antiqua.* There may also be some evidence that the author knew of the "Ut puer" argument (especially in lines 1 and 8), although these parallels are probably only coincidental. Nevertheless, on the basis of all this evidence, the argument must be a medieval composition.

NEW MONOSTICH ARGUMENTS

Two general arguments to Statius' *Thebaid* enjoyed wide transmission in the Middle Ages, the "Associat" and "Soluitur" arguments.[70] These arguments are

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[68] The final scene did interest medieval readers. In London, British Library Harley 4869 (s. xv), lines 7–12 of the argument to book 6 are missing. In their place, a contemporary hand has written the following prose lines in the margin: "Discobole in quo certamine uicit Tideus Agillen; prohibitio in monachie Amphiarai et Pollinicis; Adrasti regis sagitte ictus cum prodigio celi ad dominum reuertentis".

[69] Quotations in arguments, like those in ancient poems, are usually accompanied by forms of *inquam* or *for* (e.g., "haec fata" at line 10 of the argument to book 5).

[70] The "Associat" argument (H. Walther, *Initia carminum* [Göttingen, 1959], no. 547; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins* 2:525, no. 40) is transmitted in three manuscripts before the twelfth century: Cambridge, St. John's College D.12 (s. x/xi), Brussels 5337–38 (s. xi), and London Royal 15.C.x (s. x–xi). The text is also transmitted after line 1499 of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, book 5, in all but two manuscripts (see F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* [Boston, 1933], 1030 *ad* 1498). The

transmitted either as complete poems, usually before or after the *Thebaid*,[71] or as monostichs before their respective books.[72] The "Associat" argument was the preferred of the two, being transmitted in some eighty manuscripts of the *Thebaid*, compared to fifty-four for the "Soluitur" argument.

The transmission of the text of these arguments, in particular that of the "Soluitur" argument, is somewhat problematic. First of all, it was not uncommon to use lines from "Associat" in the "Soluitur" argument, such that in seven witnesses of the "Soluitur" argument (all but one of which are of north-central Italian origin), one or more of the last five lines of the "Associat" argument were copied alongside or in the place of the respective lines from the "Soluitur" argument.[73] Further, in the early northern French and British and the later Italian witnesses of the "Soluitur" argument, line 8 was rewritten to read

Occidit octauo (heu!) Tideus a Menalippo.[74]

"Soluitur" argument (Walther, *Initia carminum,* no. 18436; Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins,* no. 41) is found in two witnesses before the twelfth century: Bern, Burgerbibliothek 156 (s. xI; line 2 only) and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10039 (s. xI). These arguments have been most recently printed in F. P. Magoun, Jr., "Chaucer's Summary of Statius' Thebaid II–XII," *Traditio* 11 (1955): 410–11, on the basis of Queck's edition of the *Thebais*. Neither text has ever been properly edited. All post-1600 editions of the "Soluitur" argument are taken from the same manuscript, usually identified as "vetustissimus codex Toletanus" (now Madrid 10039); those of the "Associat" argument are taken from an unnamed single manuscript (the text is usually identified as "argumentum ex aliis codicibus" or "in veteribus libris legitur").

[71] Cf. n. 58 above.

[72] Only three manuscripts transmit all twelve lines of an argument as monostichs before their respective books, Cambridge, Trinity College O.9.12 (s. xIII in., transmitting the "Associat" argument), Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 808 (s. xII, transmitting the "Associat" argument) and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 106 (a fourteenth-century hand added the lines of the "Soluitur" argument). The manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 265.4 Extravagantes 8° (s. xIV), may have originally transmitted the twelve lines of the "Associat" argument, but as the folios that contained book 1 have since been lost, it is difficult to be sure.

[73] Four manuscripts transmit "Associat" lines 8–12 alongside those of the "Soluitur" argument: Berlin Hamilton 609 (s. xIII); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.II.78 (dated 1384); Leiden Gronov. 14 (s. xV); and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 319b Helmst. (dated 1454). Similarly, in Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna M.I.167 (s. xV), "Associat" lines 8–10 and 12 are transmitted together with "Soluitur" lines 1–7 and 9–11. Actual replacement takes place in only two witnesses: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 38.5 (s. xII), where "Associat" lines 8–10 replace those of "Soluitur" (although line 8 begins "occidit octauo"), and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta" Ms. C. 63 (s. xV ex.), where line 12 of the "Associat" argument replaces that of "Soluitur."

[74] The original line reads "Occidit octauo Menalippi cuspide Tydeus". The variant is transmitted in some ten manuscripts, the earliest of which are Bern, Burgerbibliothek 528 (France, s. xII, reading "heus"); Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library 130 (France or England,

There are a few instances in which otherwise unattested lines are transmitted in conjunction with one of these two general arguments or as monostichs. The origin of these lines is difficult to ascertain: they may be parts of general arguments that have not otherwise been transmitted or they may have been created as *ad hoc* monostichs. The earliest such monostich occurs on fol. 1v of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 14139 (s. XII/XIII),[75] where the following line precedes lines 6–12 of the "Associat" argument (there are no verses summarizing books 1–4):

> Hinc Capaneus quinto gaudet serpente perempto.

The formal source of this hexameter is line 10 of the *argumentum antiquum* to book 5 ("Archemorum sacro serpente peremptum"), with the difference being that the emphasis here is not on the dead boy but rather on the dead snake. As such, this verse is unique among arguments to the fifth book in that it skips over the bulk of the narrative, focusing only on lines 565–74.[76] It is also worth noting that the death of the snake is not mentioned in the *argumenta antiqua* or the other twelve-line general arguments to the *Thebaid*.

In London, British Library Harley 5296 (s. XIII),[77] the following monostich appears before book 6:

> Sextus habet ludos pueri de funere factos.

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s. XII med.) and Oxford, Magdalen College Lat. 18 (England, s. XII). The first Italian manuscript to transmit the line is Florence II.II.78 (Florence, 1384). The line is also transmitted in the *editio princeps* (see n. 82 below), beginning "decidit octauo heus."

[75] See L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de Saint-Germain-des-Prés conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale sous les numéros 11504–14231 du fons latin* (Paris, 1868), 129; Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 29; and F. Avril and P. D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1987), 54–55, no. 82. Boussard ("Le classement") designated this manuscript as *O*.

[76] It may be the case that the author chose to summarize only that part of the book that was directly related to the plot, that is, Capaneus's impiety. It did bother some medieval scholars that most of the fifth book had little to do with the plot of the *Thebaid*; a note to that effect at 5.1 in the so-called "In principio" commentary reads "Hunc librum poeta extraordinarium carminis facit; excessit enim echonomiam suam" (transcribed from Wolfenbüttel 146 Gud. lat. 2° [s. XV]).

[77] See *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (London, 1808), 259; and Sweeney, *Prolegomena*, 27. Boussard ("Le classement") designated this manuscript as *Ga*. In this manuscript, books 9–11 are preceded by the respective lines of the "Soluitur" argument (since the final gatherings, containing 11.306 to the end of the *Thebaid*, are by a later hand, the manuscript may originally have had the monostich argument to book 12 as well). There is one *argumentum antiquum*, to book 12, but this was copied by the later hand.

There are two noteworthy aspects of this verse. First, it does not provide a better encapsulation than do the other extant arguments.[78] Second, it follows the formula "primus habet" (Type B II in W. Schetter's typology),[79] but is the only instance of the formula I have seen used for an ordinal number other than "primus." This line may have therefore been composed as an independent entity, and perhaps was intended as a replacement for a missing line.

Our final new monostich is that which precedes book 3 in Pisa, Archivio capitolare C 101 bis 104 (s. XIV):[80]

> Tertius Inachidas impellit reddere Thebas.[81]

Since the words fall in almost the same metrical position as those of "Soluitur," line 3 ("Tertius in Thebas inflammat Dorica castra"), it follows that the author knew that argument and deliberately chose to modify it, likely with the intention of replacing "inflammat Dorica castra" with a more concrete phrase.

Although this monostich occurs in just one extant manuscript, it is also transmitted as line 3 of the "Soluitur" argument in the *editio princeps* of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* (Rome [?], ca. 1470),[82] in the 1473 Parma edition by S.

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[78] "Associat," line 6: "Archemori bustum sexto ludique leguntur"; "Soluitur," line 6: "Sextusque Archemori ludosque funera ducit."

[79] W. Schetter, "Merkverse zur Fünfbücherausgabe der Achilleis des Statius," *Philologus* 113 (1969): 306–10. The formula is used in metrical arguments after the tenth century, the earliest recorded example being Basilius's general argument to the *Aeneid* in *Anthologia Latina I*, ed. Riese, no. 634 (*inc.* "Primus habet, Libycam veniunt ut Troes in urbem"). The formula is also found in the six-line argument to the *Aeneid*, ibid., no. 672a (*inc.* "Primus habet pelagi minas, terraeque secundus"), in the "Primus habet" general argument to Lucan (*inc.* "Primus habet populique fugas et Cesaris iras"), and in the decastich arguments to the *Achilleid* edited by Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide*," 175–76 (*inc.* "Primus habet Thetidis curas ac uerba querentis").

[80] P. O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, vol. 6 (Leiden, 1992), 140. The manuscript transmits no other monostich arguments. Books 2–5 and 7–10 are preceded by their respective *argumenta antiqua* and book 6 is preceded by the "Ut puer" argument. The monostich follows the *argumentum antiquum* to book 3.

[81] The word "Inachidas" is taken from *Theb.* 3.366, where "Inachidae" is used immediately after Tydeus's exhortation.

[82] See J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 6 vols. and suppl. (Paris, 1860–80), 5:511; and *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, ed. T. M. Guarnaschelli et al., 6 vols. (Rome, 1943–81), no. 9154; cf. *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, 9 parts (London, 1908–62), 4:143. The edition was copied from the fourteenth-century manuscript Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale 369, which is now missing the first gathering; see my article, "The *editio princeps* of Statius' Epics" (forthcoming).

Corallus,[83] and in the edition listed as 14984 in Hain.[84] Since these three editions vary greatly in the texts of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* that they present, it appears that the argument had a wider diffusion than the extant manuscripts would suggest.

AN UNNOTICED DODECASTICH GENERAL ARGUMENT

A complete general argument to the *Thebaid* is transmitted in a Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which, although printed in the catalog, has gone unnoticed by scholars:[85]

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 146 Gud. lat. 2° (4450), Iv (s. XV).[86]

This manuscript, which is on parchment with paper flyleaves, is written in a humanist cursive book script and transmits the "Primus habet" general argument on the verso of the first (paper) flyleaf. The *Thebaid*, which follows on fols. 2r–108v, includes the *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–12 (the "Graiorum turba" argument precedes book 6). On fol. 108v is the "Soluitur" twelve-line general argument.

> Primus habet ruptam fratrum certamine pacem.
> Fædera pacta negat uariataque scæptra secundus.
> Tertius Inachias armatque in prælia turmas.
> Mars quarto Argolicas furiis agit usque cateruas.
> 5   Isifiles quinto patrios docet ore labores.
> Sextus in Archemori celebrat pia funera ludos.

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[83] See Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum,* no. 14987; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century* 7:938–39; and *Indice generale degli incunaboli,* no. 9155. The text of the *Achilleid* in this witness is A. Marastoni's siglum *b* (*P. Papini Stati Achilleis* [Leipzig, 1974]).

[84] See also *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century* 7:938; and F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: Third Census* (New York, 1964), S 701. Our only indication of the date of the edition stems from some handwritten notes in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ink. 25.C.5, which mention the date 1483; it was most likely printed in 1472–73.

[85] The text is transcribed with slightly regularized spelling by G. Milchsack on p. 163 of the catalog (O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel IV: Die Gudischen Handschriften* [Wolfenbüttel, 1913; rpt. Frankfurt, 1966 in *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel,* vol. 9]).

[86] See ibid., 162–63, no. 4450; Sweeney, *Prolegomena,* 31; and D. Anderson, "Boccaccio's Glosses on Statius," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 22 (1994): 132 (brief notice).

Concitat in Thebas hostilia septimus arma.
Astacidę octauo procumbit uulnere Tydeus.
Parthenopea neci nonus dat funere largo.
10   Fulmine deiicitur decimo Capaneus acuto.
Vndecimo alterna germani cæde laborant.
Vltimus Ægide laceras dat sternere Thebas.

Commentary:

1   *Primus:* The ordinal numbers for lines 2–4, 6, and 8–12 are in the same
     verse positions as in the "Soluitur" argument (although those for 10–11
     are in the nominative there).

2   *Fœdera . . . negat . . . scæptra:* cf. "Soluitur," line 2 ("denegat et
     foedera"). The line is also indebted to *Theb.* 1.140–41: "sceptra tenentem
     foedere."

3   *Tertius Inachias:* cf. the monostich argument to book 3 in the Pisa manu-
     script edited on p. 242 above ("Tertius Inachidas"), but the similarity is
     probably only coincidental.

     Inachias . . . turmas: cf. *Theb.* 3.533: "Inachii sint hi tibi, concipe,
     reges."

     Armat: cf. *Theb.* 3.348–50: ("arma, arma, . . . arma para").

     Prœlia: A complete word occupies the fifth foot six times in this argu-
     ment, in lines 3, 6–9, and 12.

4   *Quarto Argolicas:* In this argument, the first syllable of the second foot
     is elided three times: here, in line 8, and in line 11.

     Mars . . . cateruas: cf. *Theb.* 4.321 ("Martis et ensiferas inter potes ire
     cateruas").

     Mars . . . furiis: cf. *Theb.* 4.345–46 ("Cadmi Mauortia plebes, maesta
     ducis furiis [bella mouet]").

5   *Patrios . . . labores:* cf. *Theb.* 5.626 ("dum patrios casus famaeque ex-
     orsa retracto").

6   *Sextus . . . Archemori . . . ludos:* cf. "Soluitur," line 6 ("sextus . . . Ar-
     chemori ludos").

7   *In Thebas . . . septima arma:* cf. the general argument to the *Aeneid* at-
     tributed to Basilius (*Anthologia Latina I,* ed. Riese, no. 634, line 7: "In
     Phrygas Italiam bello iam septimus armat").

12   *Vltimus . . . dat . . . Thebas:* cf. "Soluitur," line 12 ("ultimus . . . dat . . .
     Thebas").

There are two formal sources for the argument. The first appears to be Basilius's general argument to the *Aeneid,* from which it may have derived its incipit ("Primus habet"),[87] and to which there may be some similarity in line 7. The other source, which is more definite, is the "Soluitur" general argument.[88] There are two major similarities between the two: the ordinal numbers in lines 2–4, 6, and 8–12 are in the same metrical positions;[89] and there are verbal similarities in lines 1, 2, and 12, in which the words used in common are found in similar if not the same metrical positions:

> Primus habet ruptam fratrum certamine pacem (1)
> Soluitur in primo fratrum concordia libro ("Soluitur," line 1);
>
> Fædera pacta negat uariataque scæptra secundus (2)
> Denegat et foedus repetitaque regna secundus ("Soluitur," line 2);
>
> Vltimus Ægide laceras dat sternere Thebas (12)
> Ultimus Ogygias dat Thesea uincere Thebas ("Soluitur," line 12).

The content of the two arguments differ only slightly. Two of the changes can be attributed to differing interests in the story: in line 9, where the focus is moved from Hippomedon to Parthenopeus, and in line 5, where the author curiously shifts the emphasis from Hypsipyle to Thoas ("patrios . . . labores"). Most of the changes, though, seem to reflect an interest in simplifying the "Soluitur" argument. In line 3, for example, the emphasis is shifted from "inflammat" to "armat," and in line 4, "Mauors" is replaced by "Mars."

NEWLY DISCOVERED NON-DODECASTICH ARGUMENTS

All of the arguments presented to this point share two characteristics. With one exception, they all date to the fourteenth century or later and all adhere to the format and style of the *argumenta antiqua.* Three further arguments to the *Thebaid* surviving in whole or in part predate the fourteenth century. As these arguments do not fit the dodecastich-mold used in the other extant verse summaries of the epic, they afford us a glimpse into a period of argument composition that is insufficiently represented in the extant manuscripts.

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[87] Type B I in Schetter, "Merkverse."

[88] The "Soluitur" general argument is found on fol. 108v of the manuscript.

[89] Except for those in lines 10 and 11, all of these are in the same case. Lines 1–3, 7, 9 (although there in the ablative), 11, and 12 are in the same metrical positions as in Basilius's argument to the *Aeneid.*

The first of these is a series of verses added in the thirteenth century to a manuscript of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century in Copenhagen:

Copenhagen, Det kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 2027 4°, fol. 119v (s. XIII).[90]

This manuscript, written on parchment by a s. XII ex./XIII in. hand, contains the *Thebaid* on fols. 1r–118r. On fols. 118v–119v,[91] the text-hand copied the twelve-line *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–10, leaving space for the argument to book 6.[92] After the argument to book 10 on fol. 119v, the scribe left some ten lines blank, and it is in this space that a thirteenth-century hand wrote a nine-line argument to books 11 and 12.[93] There are a few glosses to the argument.[94]

> Post hęc Meneceus pro ciuibus hostia factus
> Et gladio faustum sese faciens holocaustum
> Vincere dat Thebas, Dolopas sternendo cateruas.
> Mox germanorum rabies conserta duorum
> 5   Sternitur alternis miserando funere telis.
> Soluitur obsidio, turbato milite Graio.
> Thęseus Egides reuocans ad prelia uires
> Obsidet, exsuperat, iam ceu Cretense gubernat
> Regnum Thebanum, perimens Creonta profanum.

Commentary:

1   *Meneceus:* Note the scansion, $M\bar{e}n\breve{e}c\bar{e}\bar{u}s$. In the *Thebaid*, the form (scanned $M\bar{e}n\bar{o}\bar{e}c\bar{e}\bar{u}s$) is found only at the end of a hexameter.

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[90] See E. Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum medii aevi bibliothecae regiae Hafniensis* (København, 1926), 318; Sweeney, *Prolegomena,* 25; and Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins* 2.538.

[91] The manuscript has been recently refoliated; my folio numbers follow the new numbering (the microfilm at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes includes only the old foliation).

[92] In this space, a fourteenth-century hand has added a library catalog which includes a "tonarium in papirio" (as is rightly transcribed in the catalog), not "tonarium in Papinio", as Sweeney (*Prolegomena,* 25) reports.

[93] Only one intact manuscript of the *Thebaid* has arguments to all the books except for 1, 6, 11, and 12: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 1977 (s. XII ex./XIII in.).

[94] "Meneceus" (1): "filius Creontis"; "Dolopas" (3): "Grecos"; "duorum" (4): "Poll(inicis) et Ethio(clis)"; "Creonta" (9): "Creontem."

>   *Hostia:* The source is *Theb.* 11.283–84 ("at tu (pudet), hostia regni, hostia, nate, iaces").

3   *Vincere dat Thebas:* cf. "Soluitur," line 12 ("dat Thesea uincere Thebas").

>   *Dolopas:* The word does not occur in the *Thebaid* but does occur in the *Achilleid,* at 1.777.

This argument is noteworthy for three reasons. First, it has a close relationship to the "Soluitur" general argument (especially in line 3). Second, it is one of only two arguments to the *Thebaid* written in Leonine verses.[95] Third, because it summarizes multiple books, it does not seem to be part of an external tradition but seems to have been created *ad hoc* to fill in the void in this one manuscript.[96]

We do have evidence for larger collections of *uersus memoriales* that circulated in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The first of these is the single verse that precedes book 5 in the Puteanus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 8051 [s. IX/X]).[97] The verse, which will be discussed only briefly here, is unique among monostich arguments to any epic poet in that it does not include an ordinal number denoting the book that it summarizes. We are then perhaps in error if we refer to it as a monostich argument. It is more likely a fragment of a now lost argument to the book (similar to the *argumenta antiqua*) or a lengthy *summa memorialis* to the entire *Thebaid*.

A more complete collection of *uersus memoriales,* and the final verses presented here, is a set of anomalous verses transmitted in a manuscript in Salamanca:

Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria lat. 84 (s. XIII).[98]

>   This manuscript, which is on parchment, was written in a clear *gothica bastarda* script, perhaps in northern Italy. The text of the *Thebaid* (through

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[95] The other is that of Folchino de Borfoni, which is transmitted in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 66 inf. (s. XIV ex.), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3379 (dated 1416), and Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1417 (dated 1426). An edition of Folchino's didactic works by C. DeSantis and H. Anderson is forthcoming.

[96] For another instance of lines being added to fill in a failing in the tradition, see n. 68 above.

[97] "Hisiphile dum damna refert maiora recepit (recipit MS)." The text was first edited by Klotz, "Die Argumente," 273–74, and has been recently discussed by Jakobi ("Weiteres zu den 'Thebais'-Argumenta").

[98] See L. Rubio Fernández, *Catálogo de los manuscritos clásicos latinos existentes en España* (Madrid, 1984), 451, no. 532.

12.259 is on fols. 1r–127v (after which a gathering is missing) and includes the *argumenta antiqua* to books 2–5 and 7–11; the argument for book 12 is written in the margin by a contemporary hand. In the margin at the beginning of books 2 and 11 are the respective lines of the "Soluitur" general argument.

1.46[99] (1v):   Iam furias rogat ira senis dent prelia nati.

3.77   (22r):   Vitam indignatur sociorum funere Meon.

5.209   (45r):   Femineam scelerum rabiem, cum sanguine diro
                 Lemniadum maduere tori, Nox conscia prodit.

6.301   (56r):   Incipiunt ludis iam decertare Pelasgi.

7.800   (76r):   Iam uolat armatus per opaca silentia Ditis
                 Amphiaraus atrox, terra amplexante furentem.

8.736   (87r):   Tideus occumbit. Menalippum in limine uite
                 Querit et in morsu uitam consumit anhelo.

9.535   (95r):   Sternitur Ippomedon telis amnisque furore.

9.893   (100r): Frigidus Arcas humi posuit morientia menbra.

10.912 (113r): Bella Iouis Capaneus atrox mortalia tempnens
                 Poscit et in fulmen non obstitit ereus umbo.
                 Corruit horrendos imitatus morte Gigantes.

11.410 (119r): Iam Furie stimulis coeunt in prelia fratres.

11.572 (121v): Connexi pereunt alterno uulnere fratres.

11.607 (122r): Erumpit lacrimas genitor sua funera plangens.

11.639 (122v): Tum Iocasta furens per pectora condidit ensem.

11.651 (122v): Morte Creon fratrum cepit moderamina Thebis.

12.105 (125v): Argolidum uiduata cohors ruit undique matrum.

5.209 rabiem] -biem *sup. lin.* MS

Commentary:

1.46 *Ira senis:* cf. *Theb.* 1.66 ("ora senis").

5.209 (2) *Nox conscia:* The phrase is likely taken from Ovid, *Met.* 6.588 or 13.15.

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[99] The *Thebaid* line numbers here represent where the lines next to which the verses were written, which is not necessarily the beginning of the passage being summarized.

7.800 (1) *Silentia Ditis:* The phrase is also found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 10.2 (Berlin, 1883), 7569 ("Ditisque silentia maesti"), but that is not a likely source.

(2) *Amphiaraus atrox:* This epithet is nowhere used in conjunction with the priest in Statius's poem.

8.736 (2) *Morsu . . . anhelo:* This use of *anhelus* is extended (I could not find a similar usage) and adds a rather gruesome touch.

9.535 *Sternitur Ippomedon:* cf. line 11 of the *argumentum antiquum* to book 9 ("Parthenopeus sternit").

9.893 *Frigidus . . . humi:* cf. *Theb.* 9.898 ("frigidus et nuda iaceo tellure").

Arcas: cf. *Theb.* 9.858 ("Arcados") and "Soluitur," line 9 ("Hippomedonta solo dat nonus et Arcada telo").

10.912 (1) *Bella Iouis:* cf. *Theb.* 1.22 ("bella Iouis").

Capaneus atrox: Capaneus is given this epithet only in line 6 of the *argumentum antiquum* to book 4. On the scansion of "Capaneus," see the commentary to line 8 of the "Institui ludos" argument on p. 238 above.

(2) *Ereus umbo:* cf. *Theb.* 10.929 ("niger umbo").

(3) *Gigantes:* The likely source for this comparison is the Aloidae mentioned at *Theb.* 10.850 (although there the reference is to their ascent).

11.410 *Furie stimulis . . . fratres:* cf. lines 4–5 of the *argumentum antiquum* to book 11 ("fratresque nocentes diuersis agitant stimulis").

11.572 *Pereunt alterno uulnere fratres:* cf. line 1 of the *argumentum antiquum* to book 12 ("Postquam alterno ceciderunt uulnere fratres").

11.651 *Cepit moderamina:* The word *moderamen* is not used in this sense in Statius, although the usage is common in Ovid (cf. *Met.* 6.677: "rerum . . . capit moderamen Erechtheus").

Although all other verse summaries to Statius's poems are transmitted before or at the beginning of their respective books or as independent poems, these verses are transmitted as marginal periochae or perhaps even as finding guides. But, unique as these poems are, several inductions can be made about their origin.[100] First, because the verses are written on the page in large characters with embellishments, details which distinguish the verses from all other ancillary materials except for the catchwords,[101] the verses were seen as important to the text and must have been copied from an authoritative source.

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[100] I assume on the basis of style that they are of common origin.

[101] The other ancillary materials, which include prose periochae and finding guides, are usually in a minuscule hand or want embellishments, but see n. 103 below.

Second, because the verses vary in length from one to three lines, this source must have been a lengthy poem, not simply a collection of monostichs. Last, because the verses are placed in the margin irregularly, sometimes before the text they summarize and sometimes after it,[102] the source must have been free-standing and the verses were not intended as marginal periochae. The copyists' method of selection from this source, however, is unclear: only fifteen passages have these verse summaries and there are no verses to any passages in book 2 or book 4.[103]

The language of the verses is indebted both to that of the *Thebaid* and to the *argumenta antiqua*, but the author does have a tendency to assign epithets to characters in ways that are not allowed by the poem or by normal usage. The description "opaca silentia Ditis" (in the first verse at *Theb.* 7.800), for example, is likely derived from "atra . . . Ditis flumina" at lines 782–83, but the association of the word "silentia" with death is rare in antiquity.[104] Another instance is the word "uiduata" in the verse at *Theb.* 12.105 which, though unexpected, is used quite cleverly: normal usage would dictate that the epithet take on its normal, albeit transferred meaning of "abandoned" or "leaderless" and not retain its original sense.

Further, the author's use of epithets implies judgments on events in the poem which are not implicit in the text. For example in the second verse at *Theb.* 7.800, Amphiaraus is described as *atrox* and *furens*. The epithet *atrox* (which is used only ten times in the *Thebaid*)[105] contradicts the favorable treatment of the priest throughout the poem, and the verb *furio* hardly provides an adequate description of Amphiaraus's *aristeia* or his coolheadedness in the face of death.

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[102] For example, line 1 was placed at *Theb.* 1.46, at the beginning of its passage; line 10, on the other hand, was placed at *Theb.* 9.535, at the end of the passage it summarizes, even after the guide "mors Ippomedontis," which the same hand wrote beside *Theb.* 9.530.

[103] There are prose periochae to nine passages, all in book 10: "Somnus aggreditur Tebanos" (154; fol. 102v), "Apollo intrat Thiodamantem" (164; fol. 102v), "Thiodamas seuit in Tebanos dormientes" (284; fol. 104r), "Hic adequat Dimantem et Opleum Niso et Eurialo emulando Virgilium" (445; fol. 106v), "fere rapiuntur Tebe" (489; fol. 107r), "trepidant Thebe" (552; fol. 108r), "Meneceus precipitat se e muris" (774; fol. 111r), "verba lutifica matris Menecei" (793; fol. 111r), "Tumultus fit apud superos" (883; fol. 112v). Although these are usually written without embellishment or in smaller characters, some do resemble the verses.

[104] The one example I could find is "Ditisque silentia maesti" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 10.2:7569).

[105] If we include the *argumentum antiquum* to book 4, this number increases to eleven. The form is used twice in the Salamanca verses, here and in line 12, where the use is equally inappropriate on the basis of Statius's treatment of the episode.

The most important facet of these verses, and one that we do not commonly find in any other verse argument to Statius, is the influence of medieval exegetical traditions. The clearest example of this is in the verses at *Theb.* 10.912, where Capaneus's death is compared to the fall of the Giants. The immediate source for the comparison is "Aloidas" at line 850, but the verses begin with the words "bella Iouis," which are taken from *Theb.* 1.22. Most medieval commentators are averse to seeing a mythological reference at 1.22 and point out that "bella" there does not refer to a war in heaven but to a battle on the Capitoline.[106] On the other hand, the most commonly transmitted medieval commentary, the so-called "In principio" commentary,[107] stresses the mythological metaphor: "sicut Iupiter a Gigantibus liberauit patrem suum, sic Domitianus liberauit suum a Uitellio."[108] It is likely because of this exegesis that the author connected "bella Iouis" to the Giants.

CONCLUSION

I have presented here four new twelve-line arguments to book 1 of the *Thebaid,* one to book 6, three monostich arguments, an unnoticed twelve-line general argument, one short argument to books 11–12, and one set of metrical periochae of unclear origin. From these, we can make some generalizations about the transmission and composition of verse arguments to the *Thebaid* in the Middle Ages.[109]

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[106] The thirteenth-century commentary in London, British Library Harley 5296 notes "Ideo dicit Bella Iouis non quia Iuppiter egisset sed quia fuerunt facta in Tarpeio monte ubi templum Iouis erat et ibi colebatur." This note is also transmitted in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 8280 (also of the thirteenth century).

[107] On the influence of the "In principio" commentary on medieval authors in general, see D. Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale* (Philadelphia, 1988) and his "Boccaccio's Glosses," 3–134.

[108] I transcribe this note from the abbreviated version of the commentary in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 1607 (s. XII/XIII). The other self-standing witnesses of the commentary read "Titanibus." The reading "Gigantibus" is present in some marginal witnesses of the commentary, such as the thirteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G.114 (14839).

[109] These conclusions are based on results from my investigation of the arguments to Statius's poems alone; a cursory glance through manuscripts of Lucan and Virgil in the British Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek confirmed these findings, but I readily admit that we will first be able to identify the underlying academic trends when more data from the verse arguments to other authors have been collected.

In their original, antique form, there were almost assuredly *argumenta antiqua* to all twelve books of the *Thebaid*.[110] How the two arguments came to be lost is difficult to say, although I suspect that the arguments were transmitted into the Middle Ages not as a self-standing body but with the individual arguments preceding their respective books of the epic.[111] Scribes in the twelfth century did not perceive a need for an argument to the first book,[112] but they did compose two arguments to the sixth book, the "Ut puer" and "Institui ludos" arguments. Not all scribes saw a need to compose new arguments, however, and the majority of manuscripts that include *argumenta* do not transmit an argument to book 6. Some scholars turned their attention away from the *argumenta antiqua* altogether, composing poems that were free of the twelve-line form, as seen in the Salamanca verses.

It is first in the mid-fourteenth century that the creation of verse arguments becomes more widespread and we find five dodecastich arguments to the first book and a third one to the sixth. Two of these arguments to book 1, the Cambridge and Florence arguments, were derived from the same medieval source. There is no evidence that the Cambridge argument is antique. As the authors of these arguments seem to have been little interested in mimicking the style of the antique arguments, we can assume that the arguments were not seen as replacements for the missing arguments. In any case, these new arguments had only little influence.

The transmission of the "Associat" and "Soluitur" general arguments demonstrates that scholars felt much more at liberty to interfere with an antique text where there were competing antique traditions. Thus, one argument is commonly contaminated with lines from the other and, on occasion, entirely new lines are added. Many of these new lines show a tendency toward normalization. The Harley monostich, for example, begins "Sextus habet" and thus harkens back to a pattern which, although possibly antique, is not found in the antique arguments to the *Thebaid*. Likewise, our one complete medieval general argument, the Wolfenbüttel argument, uses elements from the same tradition to recast the "Soluitur" general argument.

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[110] The author of the arguments most assuredly composed one to book 6, as I do not believe that a compendiator would interrupt a sequence. On the basis of the arguments to Virgil's *Aeneid* (e.g., *Anthologia Latina I*, ed. Riese, no. 1), he likely composed one to book 1 as well. It is worth noting, however, that the majority of the manuscripts of the *Thebaid* that have periochae do not have periochae to the first book.

[111] It is easier to imagine a scribe neglecting to copy an argument when the arguments are not transmitted as an entity.

[112] This may have been because the commentary of Lactantius Placidus did not have periochae to book 1.

The arguments discussed here have one other intrinsic value: the differences in the episodes that they summarize. In some arguments, this is as simple as the encapsulation of more or fewer details, such as the "Institui ludos" argument, which is the the only argument to book 6 that discusses the final contest of the book, and the Paris 14139 monostich, in which the focus of book 5 is shifted from Hypsipyle to Capaneus. In others, it is demonstrated by the inclusion of details not found in the text or not typical of medieval arguments, such as the epithet *atrox* used in conjunction with Amphiaraus and Jocasta in the Salamanca verses and the Romantic sentiments included in the Madrid argument to book 1. All of these details serve to remind us that verse arguments were first and foremost didactic texts, and thus the creation of new verses presupposes a different interest in and thus a different interpretation of portions of the poem.

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SAINTLY SCENARIOS IN CHRISTINE DE PIZAN'S
*LIVRE DES TROIS VERTUS**

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski

A T the beginning of book 3 of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405) Lady Justice welcomes the Virgin Mary and a procession of female saints into the newly built allegorical fortress which is meant to celebrate women's achievements and shelter them from the attacks of the misogynists. Through their virtues and heroism the saints refute these attacks in complex ways. Christine redeploys the *vitae* and *passiones* of her source, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale,* for polemic purposes.[1] In a wider context, Christine opens the door to hagiographic paradigms and religious ideals which she will use not only in the *Cité* but also in its continuation, the *Livre des trois vertus* [*TV*] or *Le trésor de la cité des dames* of 1405.[2] In the *TV* there are no extensive retellings of saints' legends. Rather, Christine presents several saintly exemplars in a more allusive way; their lives serve as points of reference or possible scenarios for the women Christine addresses in the *TV*. Christine does not propose to transform her readers into saints but to offer

[1] See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, " 'Femme de corps et femme par sens': Christine de Pizan's Saintly Women," *Romanic Review* 87 (1996): 157–75, for a systematic study of the reversal of misogynistic topoi through Christine's rewriting of the hagiographic texts supplied by Jean de Vignay's translation of Vincent's *Speculum.* Jean de Vignay was also the best-known translator of the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (see G. Brunel-Lobrichon et al., "L'hagiographie de langue française sur le Continent, IXe–XVe siècle," in *Hagiographies* 2, ed. Guy Philippart [Turnhout, 1996], 310). For a study of Vincent as a source for Christine, see Maureen Curnow, "The *Livre de la Cité des Dames* of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1975), 1:183–93.

[2] Quotations of this text are from Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus,* ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris, 1989), with page references in brackets. Translations of all texts are my own unless otherwise indicated. On the *TV,* see the still valuable study of Mathilde Laigle, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus de Christine de Pisan et son milieu historique et littéraire* (Paris, 1912); see also Charity Cannon Willard, "A Fifteenth-Century View of Women's Role in Society: Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus,*" in *The Role of Woman in the Middle Ages,* ed. Rosemarie Thee Morewedge (Albany, 1975), 90–120.

them precepts for a pious life in the world that will lead to salvation; and because these saintly exemplars are all of royal lineage Christine also poses essential questions on the integration of religious ideals and political power. The lone presence of an exemplary male saint further allows us to reflect on issues of gender in relation to the models Christine proposes here.

The *TV* was written for Marguerite de Nevers, the daughter of Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy. In 1404, at age eleven, she married the French dauphin, Louis de Guienne, who died in 1415 before becoming king. In 1423 she became the wife of Arthur of Richmont after his release from an English prison. But although the book was dedicated to a specific lady, Christine hoped for a wide readership. Book 1 was meant for women from the highest echelons of society; book 2 was addressed to somewhat lower-ranked ladies at court as well as nuns; and book 3 to women who lived on estates, bourgeoises, wives of farmers and artisans, and even prostitutes.[3] The *TV* presents a mixture of practical, political, and spiritual advice that strikes us as still useful today. We learn, for example, how to deal with intrigues at court, avoid malicious gossip or being cheated by merchants; how to administer an estate in the husband's absence; how not to alienate bothersome but influential relatives or how to assure the best education for one's children; how to share one's income with the poor and how to make time for prayer and meditation in a busy schedule. The spiritual well-being of her audience thus is an important concern for Christine and into every part of her book she weaves advice on how to attain spiritual goals while remaining in the world.

One method Christine employs in her spiritual instruction is the brief presentation—though not a telling of their *vitae*—of four royal saints in *TV* 1.7. Book 1, as we have seen, is addressed to queens and princesses, a fact that colors both the choice of these saintly exemplars and the lessons that can be drawn from them. The group consists of SS. Clotilda, Balthild, Elizabeth of

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[3] Christine hoped that benevolent ladies would perhaps read her advice to the prostitutes who would most likely be illiterate. She also used saintly exemplars of reformed prostitutes, St. Afra and St. Mary the Egyptian, in that part of the book (*TV* 3.10 [212]); see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Christine de Pizan's Advice to Prostitutes," *Medieval Feminist Newsletter* 27 (1999): 9–15. Christine also hopes for future readership. At the end of the book she expresses the hope that the many copies she proposes to make of her work "will be distributed throughout the world, no matter what the cost. . . . The work will circulate and be published in all countries, even though it is written in French" (". . . que ceste noble oeuvre multiplieroye par le monde en pluseurs copies, quel qu'en fust le coust . . . sera ventillee, espandue et publiee en tous païs, —tout soit elle en langue françoise"); the ladies who will read the text will wish "that [Christine] had lived during their lifetime so that they could have known her" ("que de leur temps fust sa vie au siecle, ou que veoir la puessent," *TV* 3.14 [225]). Indeed.

Hungary, and Louis IX. Her saints, like the dedicatee of the *TV*, are of the highest nobility: Clotilda (†544) was the wife of King Clovis I (†511), the first Christian king of France; Balthild (†680) was the wife of king Clovis II;[4] St. Elizabeth (†1231) was the daughter of the king of Hungary and the wife of duke Ludwig of Thuringia; St. Louis was the king of France and a crusader who died near Tunis in 1270. We thus encounter a very exclusive gathering and one that in many ways represents the lineage of Marguerite's husband Louis.[5] I argue that Christine, as a nonaristocratic writer, used the lives of these saints as a kind of template by which she could articulate and respond to the urgent questions of her noble readers. By extrapolating the conflicts these aristocratic saints faced and by suggesting solutions gleaned from their lives Christine could provide informed guidance to a spiritual life in the world.

Biblical and saintly examples were, of course, a staple of the didactic literature of the time, such as the fourteenth-century *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry* (addressed by a knight to his daughters) and the *Ménagier de Paris* (presumably written by an elderly husband for his very young wife).[6] But one look at these works points up the difference between them and Christine's *TV*. Their *exempla* come mostly from the timeless world of the Bible and legend (as did many sections of Christine's *Cité*) while the *TV* deals with contemporary issues concerning the right way of life for a pious woman living in the often dangerous world of early fifteenth-century France.[7] And while both the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry* and the *Ménagier* insist on what Doris Ruhe calls an "Übererfüllung religiöser Gebote" (an overfulfillment of religious precepts)—calling for the attending of several masses a day, extensive fasting, and

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[4] *TV* 1.7 (28). Although Christine gives the form Baudour, I agree with Mathilde Laigle that this is St. Balthild. In fact, the form Baudour (Chelles-Sainte-Baudour) is attested in the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, revised and commented by Colette Beaune (Paris, 1990), 280. The form given in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920–53), 2:195, is Bautieut.

[5] On the relation between family lineages and hagiography, see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), chap. 3; and Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca and London, 1991), chaps. 3 and 4.

[6] See, for example, Janet M. Ferrier, "*Seulement pour vous endoctriner:* The Author's Use of *Exempla* in *Le Ménagier de Paris*," *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979): 77–89.

[7] The ménagier also deals with contemporary questions, of course. See, for example, his advice on the best butchers and bakers in Paris. But as far as religious questions are concerned, his precepts for, e.g., daily devotions are straightforward and do not address this aspect of his wife's life. On some more comparisons between these didactic texts, see Claudia Probst, *Ein Ratgeberbuch für die weibliche Lebenspraxis: Christine de Pizans "Livre des trois vertus"* (Pfaffenweiler, 1996).

ample time for prayer in addition to the running of a complex household[8]—Christine has a more realistic view of the competing duties incumbent on a pious and efficient lady and of the time she can allot to each task.

Questions of female devotion and the combination of the active and contemplative lives were addressed in many works of the time, such as the so-called *journées chrétiennes*.[9] These works tried to give lay women a schedule for their daily devotions, while the many "mirrors" and confessors' manuals of the time provided some guidance on the pastoral care of various groups of society. All these treatises were composed by male clerks and presented a seemingly immutable social hierarchy which differed considerably for men and women. While male society was divided by class and function, female society was divided into three groups (in descending order of merit) inherited from the Church Fathers: virgins, widows, and married women. Thus Jean Gerson (1363–1429) in his *De modo vivendi fidelium* (1404) presents a multifaceted society of male monks and clerks, nobles, knights, merchants, rich and poor, innkeepers and servants, while female society seems ossified in the old tripartite hierarchy (rules 9–11).[10] By contrast, Christine's division of society, though still hierarchical, takes into account the many roles of aristocratic and nonaristocratic women: from princesses we move to lower courtly ladies, wives of artisans and peasants, nuns and prostitutes. Christine was a woman writing for women, and in some ways she tried to escape from the older patterns whose creators and perpetuators Geneviève Hasenohr describes as "prisonniers de catégories de pensée archaïques," unwilling to bring their superannuated models of thought into the contemporary world and thus unable to provide satisfactory answers to the anxious questions of "ces pieuses femmes laïques éprises de l'absolu."[11] Pious lay women are precisely Christine's target audience (though she does include brief remarks addressed to nuns), and she is careful to keep their living conditions in mind when formulating her advice. Idealism and pragmatism are kept in balance.

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[8] See Doris Ruhe, "Von Frau zu Frau: Christine de Pizans Ratschläge für die weibliche Lebenspraxis," *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 1 (1996): 55–72 at 61.

[9] On this genre, see Geneviève Hasenohr, "La vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'Eglise: L'enseignement des 'journées chrétiennes' de la fin du moyen âge," in *Frau und spätmittelalterlicher Alltag* (Vienna, 1986), 19–101. On the tradition of didactic works addressed to women, see Alice Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (diss., Halle, 1903). Hentsch describes 114 works from late antiquity to the fifteenth century.

[10] See Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 8:1–5. Probst sees some lightening of this ossification in the sermons of Humbert de Romans; on Christine and his sermons, see *Ratgeberbuch*, chap. 3.

[11] Hasenohr, "La vie quotidienne," 31.

RELIGIOUS IDEALS AND SAINTLY EXEMPLARS

In the past, scholars have often emphasized the secular character of the virtues in the *TV*.[12] Yet the very opening scene sets a religious tone. Christine compares her own work to Creation, stresses the importance of the love and fear of God, and paints a dramatic scene of *memento mori* and of heaven and hell. This evocation of the two emotions of love and fear and of reward and punishment was typical of religious texts, such as *A Page of Meditations* of Margaret of Oingt (†1310).[13] Christine exhorts her audience:

> Entendez doncques, princepces et dames honnourees sur la terre, comment tout premierement sur toutes choses vous aduit amer et craindre Nostre Seigneur. Amer, pour quoy? Pour son infinie bonté et les tres grans benefices que vous recevez; et craindre pour sa divine et saincte justice qui riens ne laisse impuny (*TV* 1.2 [11]).

> [Listen, then, princesses and ladies honored on earth, how first and above all other things you must love and fear our Lord. Why love? For his boundless goodness and the great benefits you receive from him. And fear him, for his divine and holy justice which leaves nothing unpunished.]

Margaret had structured *A Page of Meditations* by these two emotions, first celebrating the love of our Lord through a meditation on his sacrifice and goodness and then turning to the fear of the Lord evoked by a vision of hell. God's justice is visible in the horrible torments people receive as punishment for their sins. Similarly, Christine has her princess meditate on the fact that we must fear the Lord because he can condemn us to hell where we would vanquish "in frightful darkness, in the company of horrible devils . . . with the souls of the damned who cry and complain in terror, cursing God, their families, and themselves in immeasurable torment in the midst of burning fire" ("en tenebres espouentables en la compagnie des horribles deables . . . avec les ames dampnees qui gettent voix et cris et plains terribles, maudisant Dieu, leur parens et eulx meismes en tourment inextimable en feu ardent"); but we must also love our Lord, for he will reward the just with the joys of paradise, where we will be "always present in the company of angels with the blessed saints in the glory of

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[12] Charity Cannon Willard, for example, traces the origin of the Virtues to such Fathers as St. Augustine, yet emphasizes that once the Virtues reach Christine they are "distinctly secular in nature." See the introduction to her translation of the *TV*, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies* (New York, 1989), 30.

[13] See the edition by Pierre Gardette Duraffour and Paulette Durdilly, *Les oeuvres de Marguerite d'Oingt* (Paris, 1965); translation in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic* (Newburyport, Mass., 1990; reissued Cambridge, 1997).

our Creator" ("tousjours present en la compagnie des angelz avec les benois saints fichiéz en la gloire de Nostre Createur," *TV* 1.5 [21]). Christine thus offers her secular readers some of the common themes (but for all that, no less dramatic) of spiritual visions and meditations which they can integrate into their daily devotions.[14]

In the wake of her evocation of hell and paradise the princess questions herself in an agonized interior monologue as to how she can find the way to salvation. This form in its liveliness and drama is particularly suited to draw in her noble audience who can use it as a kind of script or scenario.[15] A series of appeals to the Holy Trinity for guidance closes chapter 5 and leads to chapter 6, where Christine addresses one of the central concerns of pious lay people at the time: how best to combine the active and the contemplative lives.[16]

Christine begins by laying out the "two paths that lead to heaven" ("deux voies qui meinent au ciel," *TV* 1.6 [22]): one is called the contemplative life, the other the active life. A lucid exposition of the characteristics of the contemplative life, equated here with mysticism, follows. A person who chooses this life "loves God so much and so ardently that she completely forgets father, mother, children, everyone, even herself, for the great and glowing devotion she has endlessly for her Creator" (". . . la personne qui y est aime tant et si ardemment Nostre Seigneur que elle oublie entierement pere, mere, enfans, tout le monde et soy meismes, pour la grant et embrasee entente que elle a sans cesser a son Createur" [23]). Kneeling on the ground and the hands raised up to the sky, the mystic is granted a vision of the Trinity and is in such ecstasy that he tastes and feels the joys of paradise.[17] No worldly joy will satisfy this

[14] Christine also gives advice on the more ordinary aspects of devotion, such as daily prayer. For the religious practices of lay people at the time, see Étienne Delaruelle, "La spiritualité de Jeanne d'Arc," reprinted in *La piété populaire au moyen âge* (Turin, 1975), 355–88, esp. 356–59; and more generally "La spiritualité aux XIVe et XVe siècles," reprinted on pp. 401–12 in the same volume.

[15] A somewhat later treatise of spiritual guidance uses the same form. Here a woman agonizes, "A quoy me lasseray-je pour neant? A quoy mectray je si grant peine d'avoir ce que je ne sçay ce seroit a mon prouffit ou a mon dampnement? La vie commune me souffist bien. Je ne vueil point avoir les merites des apostres ne des martires" (from Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2176, fol. 119v [after 1408], cited by Hasenohr, "La vie quotidienne," 39).

[16] The question is briefly addressed in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, " 'Femmes de corps,' " 160–61. See also Michelle A. Donovan, "Rewriting Hagiography: The *Livre de la Cité des Dames*," *Women in French Studies* 4 (1997): 14–26, esp. 19. For a systematic study of the diverse views on the active and contemplative lives, see Giles Constable, "The Interpretation of Mary and Martha," in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 1–141.

[17] This reference to the beatific vision must be placed into the controversies which are laid out by Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 283–91. Christine uses the masculine pronoun "il" here.

person who is burning with love for God. Echoing the famous theologian Jean Gerson, her contemporary, Christine states,

> Ceulx le scevent qui l'ont essayé, combien que parler n'en puis—dont il me poise—, ne mais ainsi que l'aveugle des couleurs (*TV* 1.6 [23]).[18]

> [Those who have experienced it know it, though I am sorry to say that I can not speak of this life any more than a blind man can speak of colors.]

She then recognizes

> que ceste vie soit sur toutes autres agreable a Dieu est apparu maintes foiz au monde visiblement, si que il est escript de pluseurs saints et sainctes contemplatifs qui ont esté veus quant ilz estoient en leur contemplacion eslevéz dessus terre tres hault par miracle de Dieu, si que il sembloit que le corps voulsist suivre la pensee qui montee estoit ou ciel (*TV* 1.6 [23–24]).

> [. . . that this life is above all others agreeable to God has been many times demonstrated to the world. Thus it is written that several contemplatives (both men and women) have been seen to rise high above the ground in their contemplation, by God's miracle, so that it seemed that their bodies wanted to follow their thoughts which had risen to heaven.]

Levitation was certainly a contemporary phenomenon and Christine mentions it in her biography of Charles V. Here she speaks of a woman named Guillemette de la Rochelle, who, according to trustworthy people, "has been several times observed in her contemplation to be elevated in the air more than two feet" ("en sa contemplacion on l'a aucune fois veue soulevée de terre en l'air plus de .II. piez").[19] The king, Christine adds, had great reverence for her. This, then, is the portrait of the perfect contemplative.

Christine goes on to give a sketch of the active life, which centers on charity, "les oeuvres de misericorde." The person who wants to espouse that life

> cerche les hospitaulx, visite les malades et les povres, les secourt du sien et de la peine de son corps pour l'amour de Dieu selon son pouoir, a si grant pitié des

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[18] In chapter 19 of his *La montaigne de contemplation* (first written in 1397 and later translated into French for his sisters), Gerson says, "ie dirai aulcunes conditions de la vie contemplative parfaicte, non mie souffisamment ou pour ce que ie les cognoys bien, mais j'en parlerai comme un aveugle de couleurs" (*Oeuvres complètes,* ed. P. Glorieux [Paris, 1966], 7.1:29). Generally on Gerson's advice to his sisters, see Brian Patrick McGuire, "Late Medieval Care and Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997): 5–37.

[19] *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V par Christine de Pisan,* ed. S. Solente, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936–40), 2:67. Laigle suggests that this woman may have inspired the passage in the *TV* (*Le Livre des Trois Vertus,* 9 n.2).

creatures que elle voit en pechié ou en misere ou tribulacion, que elle en pleure
come de son meismes fait. . . . Telle creature porte toutes injures et tribulations
paciemment pour l'amour de Nostre Seigneur (*TV* 1.6 [24]).[20]

[. . . seeks out hospitals, visits the sick and the poor, helps them with her own
money and physical effort for the love of God, as best she can. She has such
great pity for the creatures she sees in sin, misery, or tribulation that she weeps
as though she suffered herself. . . . Such a person bears all injuries and tribula-
tions patiently for the love of our Lord.]

This life is identified with Martha and is more useful to the world than the
contemplative life associated with Mary. Christine quotes Jesus here who said
to Martha, "Mary has chosen the better part [Luke 10:42]" (". . . Marie a
esleue la meilleur partie," *TV* 1.6 [25]). Christine thus seems to endorse the
view that the contemplative life is preferable to the active. But the very end of
the chapter modifies this view, for here Christine states that this perfect life is
truly possible only in the seclusion of the monastic life, far from the tempta-
tions of the world: "those who wish to live in contemplation can exist there
separated from the world in the service of God without any other care; and they
please themselves, for God is only too happy if they do their duty there" (". . .
ceulx qui vouldront vivre en contemplacion puissent la estre separéz du monde
ou service de Dieu sans aultre soing, et pleust a eulx meismes, car a Dieu
plairoit bien que bien y feissent leur devoir" [25]).

The idea that contemplatives show great concern for the care of the self goes
back at least to Clement of Alexandria († ca. 215) who observed that in the
theoretical (i.e., contemplative) life one takes care of oneself by honoring
God.[21] Jean Gerson takes up this idea critically when he says of the mystic,
"but when the person pleases himself and finds joy in and through himself, it is
certain that (s)he has no true humility" ("toute fois que la personne se plaist et
s'esioist en soi et de soi, soit certaine qu'elle n'a mie vraie humilité . . .").[22]
Christine thus limits her praise of the contemplative life by claiming that it is
not possible in the world and by pointing to a certain amount of self-indulgence

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[20] These activities conform to some of those listed by Jean Gerson in his *A.B.C. des sim-*
ples gens (*Oeuvres*, ed. Glorieux, 7.1:154–57) under the entries "Les sept œuures de miseri-
corde spirituelles" and "Les sept œuures de misericorde corporelles" (156). These works of
mercy were thus recommended to everyone, male and female, regardless of their social sta-
tion. Of course, each person would execute these works according to his or her physical and
financial abilities.

[21] See Alois M. Haas, "Die Beurteilung der *Vita contemplativa* und *activa* in der Domini-
kanermystik des 14. Jahrhunderts," in Brian Vickers, ed., *Arbeit, Muße und Meditation: Be-*
trachtungen zur "Vita activa" und "Vita contemplativa" (Zurich, 1985), 109–31 at 110.

[22] Gerson, *La montaigne de contemplation* 45 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Glorieux, 7.1:55).

and perhaps even pride in the people who elect this life. This idea is confirmed when we look at Christine's advice to princes in the didactic *Livre du corps de policie* of 1407. Here we learn that the prince's most important virtues are "to love, fear, and serve God without dissimulation and by doing good deeds rather than spending much time in long prayers" ("aimer Dieu . . . , le craindre et servir sans faindre, et plus le servir par bonnes œuvres faire que par moult vaquier en longue oroison").[23] The words "much time" and "long" are particularly revealing of Christine's leanings against this kind of life, for it is a life removed from contemporary reality, unsuitable for a prince or princess whose time is better spent on active charity.

Christine does not explicitly address the gender issue here, but it must have been clear to her—not least through her acquaintance with men like Gerson—that the combination of the two lives was perhaps easier for churchmen, whose official public functions were part of their religious existence. The idea that "Mary and Martha [existed] in one man" can be traced to many bishops and canon regulars in earlier centuries,[24] and Christine's contemporary, Pierre d'Ailly (†1420), an indefatigable church politician and scholar, also maintained that a prelate "must lead both kinds of life,"[25] sometimes favoring Mary, and at other times Martha. But for a woman it was much more difficult to achieve a perfect combination of the two lives. For if she chose the perfect path of contemplation—the life of a religious—she would be cut off from the world. Unlike the secular clerics of her time, she would have to live in the seclusion of the cloister, renouncing any worldly concerns. Christine's praise of the active life thus also indicates her concern for preserving women's power and influence within the secular sphere.[26]

After defining the two lives in the *TV* Christine must address the pressing question of choice for her princess. Because of the frailty to which she is inclined ("la fragilité en quoy je suis encline"), the princess, though willing, finds herself too weak of body to suffer great abstinence and pain and too feeble of spirit because of her weakness and inconstancy ("tres foible de corps pour

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[23] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du corps de policie* 1.6 (ed. Angus J. Kennedy [Paris, 1998], 9).

[24] See Constable, "Interpretation of Mary and Martha," 40 and 69.

[25] Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1991), 226.

[26] This may also explain Christine's initial opposition to her daughter's decision to become a nun at the priory of Poissy. In part 3 of *Lavision-Christine* Lady Philosophy reminds Christine of this event: ". . . une fille donnee a dieu . . . de sa pure voulonte *et oultre ton gre* . . ." (see *Lavision-Christine,* ed. Mary Louise Towner [Washington, 1932], 174 [my emphasis]). Philosophy adds, however, that now Christine is pleased to hear of her daughter's "vie contemplative et devocion" (ibid.).

souffrir grant abstinence et grant peine, et foible d'esperit par fragilité et incon-
stance," *TV* 1.7 [26]). She realizes that the abandonment of one's family in or-
der to pursue the contemplative life is an impossibility for her: "What should I
do, then? Should I journey in the active life?" ("Que feray je doncques?
Chemineray-je par la vie active?" [26]). Alas, similar obstacles present them-
selves. The princess's wealth is the first problem and she exclaims: "Dear God,
why did you not put me into this world as a poor woman, so that at least I
could serve you perfectly in the active life by administering to your members,
that is, the poor, for love of you" ("Hé Dieux! que me eusses tu establie au
monde en l'estat de povre femme, afin que je te peusse perfaictement en ycelle
a tout le moins perfaictement servir en administrant et faisant service a tes
membres [ce sont les pouvres] pour l'amour de toy" [26]). When the princess
agonizes that God forbids the rich to enter heaven, Saincte Informacion ap-
pears and reassures her that God only means the rich without virtue, those who
give no alms and rejoice only in their wealth. A rich man can still be poor in
spirit; good works and God's service will lead to salvation (27). It is at this
point that Christine introduces her saintly exemplars, all of which, as we will
see, attained sanctity by the sort of virtuous conduct just described. Christine
thus consoles the princess in her distress by showing her a group of saints
"who did not abandon the world but reigned and governed their possessions at
God's pleasure. . . . They lived justly and did not delight in vainglory" ("qui ne
laissoient pas le monde, ains reignoient et possedoient leurs seigneuries au
plaisir de Dieu. . . . Ilz vivoient justement, ne point s'assavouroient en vaine
gloire" [28]). Christine insists that everyone can save himself if he uses his
gifts wisely—for damnation is the consequence of not using well what we are
given by God. Since the princess cannot follow either of the two paths to
heaven perfectly, she resolves to follow the middle way, as St. Paul advises,
and to adopt from each way of life as much as she can ("puisque je ne me sens
de tel force que puisse du tout en tout eslire et suivre l'une des deux susdictes
voyes, je mettray peine a tout le moins de tenir le moyen, si comme saint Pol le
conseille, et prendray de l'une et de l'autre vie selon ma possibilité le plus que
je pourray" [28]). Christine astutely gives the princess a way out of her di-
lemma. Realizing that neither the contemplative nor the active life is a real pos-
sibility for her audience, Christine has the princess choose a middle way for
which the four saints are supposedly the exemplars. We must recognize, how-
ever, that in general the "middle way" does not lead to sainthood. We must also
ask whether these saints really followed this middle path, and in which way can
they truly be exemplary for Christine's audience.

SS. Clotilda, Balthild, Elizabeth, and Louis differ from the large group of
early women martyrs in the *Cité* in that they are more imitable than the

martyrs. One of the fundamental questions regarding the function of hagiography is that of exemplarity. Were the saints predominantly admirable or also imitable?[27] For the late Middle Ages the early martyrs were admirable but their sacrifice could not be imitated in the same form it was suffered under the Roman persecutions. Their virtues of patience and devotion to Christ were nonetheless imitable to a certain extent. But later medieval saints were not necessarily more easily imitated because their "excesses" could not be recommended for everyone. When in the early thirteenth century Jacobus de Vitry tells of the extraordinary transports of his subject, Marie d'Oignies, he says, "I do not tell this to recommend her excess, but to show her fervor."[28] Richard Kieckhefer observes, "It had always been one basic function of a saint, after all, to demonstrate in concrete detail what a life of virtue entails." How could pious lay people be expected to distinguish between imitable virtues and those accomplishments they could never aspire to? Kieckhefer sees a shock value in the excessive practices of the fourteenth-century saints whose example would then move ordinary people toward more moderate moral reform.[29] As we have seen, Christine shows us the typical behavior of an enraptured mystic but does not see this way of life as a real possibility for people outside of the cloister. For her, those who want to live in contemplation are most able to do so "separéz du monde" in monastic institutions (*TV* 1.6 [25]).

André Vauchez detects a move toward more imitable saints' lives after the Gregorian reform, but he also finds that those lives that were potentially the most imitable (namely, those of "ordinary" lay saints) were often the least successful, that is, people needed a certain distance, an evocation of a legendary past in order to relate to their saints.[30] Rather than see a general progression in the Middle Ages toward more imitable saints, we have to look at each example

[27] Many historians and critics address this question. One of the best considerations of the function of hagiography is Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Faszinationstyp Hagiographie: Ein historisches Experiment zur Gattungstheorie," in *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven,* ed. Christoph Cormeau (Stuttgart, 1979), 37–84. For a brief *mise au point* of the problem, see André Vauchez, "Saints admirables et saints imitables: Les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du moyen âge?" in *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III*^{e}*–XIII*^{e} *siècle)* (Rome, 1991), 161–72; and Duncan Robertson, "The Inimitable Saints," *Romance Philology* 42 (1988–89): 435–46.

[28] Cited by Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984), 13. In a similar vein, Lynda L. Coon points out that St. Jerome constructed his exemplary portrait of Paula for aristocratic women but that "not all such women aspired to the elevated piety of Paula. For those Roman matrons who disdained donning foul animal skins, Jerome's textual image of the ideal holy woman might serve at least as a figurative guide for the restraint of materialistic appetites by aristocratic females" (*Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* [Philadelphia, 1997], 21).

[29] Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls,* 13 and 14.

[30] Vauchez, "Saints admirables," 168–69.

in context. What was the purpose and function of a given text? Christine's works offer perfect examples of the multifunctionality of saints' lives. In the atemporal and utopian setting of the *Cité* the virgin martyr saints were the perfect exemplars of extraordinary and heroic women. Toward the end of the *Cité* we find "increasingly possible examples of behavior," represented by the women who helped the apostles and by supportive wives. These latter saintly women reflect more and more "the quotidian experiences of female roles and activities."[31] They are still extraordinary—otherwise they could not be considered saints and offer their intercession on our behalf—but their lives offer settings and activities that resemble those of the audience. As I suggested earlier, these types of saints offer scenarios that Christine's targeted female readers can question, modify, and adapt to suit their needs.[32]

Let us now look at the saints Christine selected for the first book of the *TV* as a group. As we have seen, Christine chose two Merovingian queens and two thirteenth-century royals to serve as saintly exemplars. With this choice she endorses a view of exemplary sainthood that conforms to her rejection of the more contemporary models we analyzed earlier. There are many ideological connections between these saints, which we will examine below, but there are also practical reasons that could explain this grouping, related to Christine's sources.

Christine's major sources for her historical texts were Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, assembled at the abbey of St. Denis. Both these texts featured the saints in question. Clotilda and Balthild appear in books 21 and 23 of the *Speculum* and in 1:16–23 and 2:22 of the *Grandes Chroniques*.[33] They had a natural affinity through their many common qualities and achievements. Further, Vincent mentioned them together in book 23, chapter 116 of his *Speculum* where the two saintly women

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[31] This suggestion comes from Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (personal letter) whom I would like to thank here for many fruitful discussions.

[32] For a nuanced study of questions of audience and exemplarity (albeit for Byzantine manuscripts), see Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and Their Audience," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 313–32.

[33] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale,* vol. 4 of *Speculum quadruplex* (Douai, 1624; rpt. Graz, 1965); generally on Vincent, see F. C. Daunou, "Vincent de Beauvais, auteur du *Speculum maius* terminé en 1256," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 18 (Paris, 1835), 449–519. For the *Grandes Chroniques,* see the edition cited in n. 4 above. Curnow studies these sources in detail in "*Livre de la Cité des Dames,*" 1:180–93. My own detailed comparison of book 3 of Christine's *Cité* and Jean de Vignay's translation of Vincent showed a sometimes verbatim borrowing from the *Miroir historial* (see my " 'Femme de corps' "). Of course, Christine was most likely also familiar with these legends through other sources, such as theatrical performances or the telling of other Old French lives. But we know that Vincent and the *Grandes Chroniques* were her major *written* sources for saints' lives.

are connected by their devotion to the convent of Chelles, first constructed on the orders of St. Clotilda.[34]

St. Elizabeth's life was known through many sources: before 1400 alone there are seventy different documents.[35] In France knowledge about her probably began to spread with Vincent of Beauvais (who finished his monumental work around 1260) and perhaps inspired the poet Rutebeuf whose *Vie de St. Elysabel* was written in 1270 and dedicated to Isabeau de Navarre, daughter of St. Louis. Jacobus de Voragine appended the saint's legend to his *Legenda aurea* after it was finished in 1273. An intriguing connection between Elizabeth and Louis is the presence of Elizabeth's son at the court of St. Louis, attested by Joinville:[36]

> Et si servoit a la royne . . . un Alemant de l'aage de .XVIII. ans que en disoit qui il avoit esté filz saint Helizabeth de Thuringe, dont l'en disoit que la royne Blanche le besoit au front par devocion pour ce que ele entendoit que sa mere l'i avoit maintes foiz besié (ed. Monfrin, 48, par. 96).

> [In the queen's service was an eighteen-year-old German of whom it was said that he was the son of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. People said that queen Blanche kissed him on the forehead out of devotion because she had learned that his mother had kissed him there many times.]

This passage shows a lineage of piety: whenever Blanche would kiss Louis Elizabeth's saintly kiss would be transmitted directly to the king. A further connection that may have inspired Christine to group the two together is the location of St. Elizabeth's story in the *Grandes Chroniques* where it is inserted into the chapters on St. Louis.[37]

St. Louis was one of the most beloved kings of France. In addition to many chapters in the *Grandes Chroniques* the longest and most detailed life is Joinville's *Vie de saint Louis,* written for Jeanne de Navarre in his old age (he died in 1310). Jeanne was the wife of Philip IV, the grandson of St. Louis. A manuscript of this text could be found in the library of Charles V, the library of the Louvre, to which Christine undoubtedly had access.[38] In the late Middle Ages St. Louis was frequently linked with Clovis, the husband of St. Clotilda. As Colette Beaune observes, "So securely did authors identify Clovis with his suc-

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[34] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 23.116 (939).

[35] See Ortrud Reber, *Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblicher Heiliger im Spätmittelalter: Die Verehrung der Heiligen Elisabeth, Klara, Hedwig und Birgitta* (Hersbruck, 1963), 5–11.

[36] Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis,* ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1995). Elizabeth's son Hermann was born in 1222.

[37] *Les Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Viard, 7:10.

[38] It was still listed in the inventory in 1424. On this manuscript, see the introduction to *Vie de saint Louis,* ed. Monfrin, xc–xci.

cessors that we must beware of their confusion when we read their texts, especially of confusing Clovis with St. Louis."[39]

Many links could thus be established between the four saints mentioned by Christine. Let us now see in more detail how their lives could provide some guidance and answers to the pressing questions Christine's princess poses in the *TV*.

SAINTS CLOTILDA AND BALTHILD

Both saints are, in Jo Ann McNamara's words, "sainted women of the dark ages." Many of the saints of this group were married, many had children, and most importantly, their "wealth and noble status, rightly employed, were unabashedly offered as qualifications for sainthood."[40] We saw earlier that Christine reassured her wealthy and aristocratic readers that their elevated position in life does not represent a categorical obstacle to their salvation. Specifically she says, "Each can save himself according to his station in life, and when God says that it is impossible for a rich person to be saved he means the rich who are without virtue" ("Si se puet chascun sauver en son estat, et ce que Dieux dist que impossible est que un riche soit sauvé est a entendre des riches sans vertu," *TV* 1.7 [27]). It is no surprise, then, that the next sentence leads over to those saintly exemplars who resemble in wealth and social status Christine's audience for that part of the *TV*.

Clotilda's greatest claim to fame is undoubtedly the conversion to Christianity of her husband Clovis in 496. Perhaps this is why Christine identifies her not by name but as the queen and wife of Clovis. Clovis's baptism was considered a pivotal event in French history which transformed Clotilda into "la mère de la France chrétienne." She exemplifies a new type of saint, that of the saintly queen who remains active in the political life of her time, keeps her wealth but employs it wisely, and works toward the salvation of her family and

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[39] See Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France,* trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 78. The possible confusion of the two names was first signaled by the chronicler Hincmar of Reims (†882); see *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages,* ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg with Gordon E. Whatley (Durham and London, 1992), 45 n. 23.
[40] See the introduction to *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages,* 8. The lives of both Clotilda and Balthild are translated in this volume. Generally on queens of this era, see Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, Georgia, 1983); and on problems of sainthood, see Marta Cristiani, "La sainteté féminine du haut moyen âge: Biographie et valeurs," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental,* 385–434.

nation.[41] Especially the later Middle Ages saw a veritable cult of that Merovingian king; Clotilda's cult as well did not really blossom until the thirteenth century.[42] Told in great detail by Gregory of Tours,[43] the story made its way in very similar form into the *Grandes Chroniques* and was also told in the popular *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages,* performed almost every year in Paris from 1339 to 1382.[44] Clotilda is primarily celebrated for persuading her husband to get baptized and as a peacemaker[45]; the *Miracle* also dramatizes her charity and her piety, supported by devotional reading. All these qualities make her a perfect exemplar for Christine's princess.

The role of women in their husband's religious life was always important to Christine. At the end of the *Cité* Christine exhorted the wives of evil, cruel, and savage husbands to try to convert them and lead them back to a reasonable and good life; if they do so, God's grace will increase in them.[46] Similarly, in the *TV* the wife is encouraged to take charge of her husband's salvation. Like Queen Esther she is supposed to obey and honor her husband.[47] But she should also enlist the help of the confessor "if she sees in her lord the stain of ugly sin

[41] Robert Folz, *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Brussels, 1992), 13, calls Clotilda "la mère de la France chrétienne." Introducing his chapter on St. Clotilda and other queens before the year 1000, Folz observes, "Ce premier groupe illustre le passage d'un type de sainteté monastique et ascétique que Radegonde et Etheldrede jugeaient incompatible avec la royauté, à une phase plus séculière où l'on pensait qu'une vie chrétienne authentique pouvait accompagner, voire inspirer la royauté" (9). See also Patrick J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 1988), chaps. 5 and 6.

[42] On this topic, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology,* chap. 2. There was an intense revival of interest in his cult in France on the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of the baptism in 1996. On Clotilda's cult, see Folz, *Les saintes reines,* 12–13.

[43] Gregory of Tours (539–94) speaks of Clotilda in *The History of the Franks* 2.28–31 (trans. Lewis Thorpe [Harmondsworth, 1974], 140–45).

[44] Miracle 39 in *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages,* ed. Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, 8 vols. (Paris, 1876–93), 7:194–277.

[45] On the latter function especially, see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations for the "Grandes Chroniques de France," 1274–1422* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 170–71. See also Coon, *Sacred Fictions,* 138, who mentions Clovis's conversion and Clotilda's role in various cults as well as her foundation of the convent at Chelles.

[46] Curnow, *"Livre de la Cité des Dames,"* 2:1033. See Blumenfeld-Kosinski, " 'Femme de corps,' " which shows that this function is congruent with that of hagiography as a whole. Sharon Farmer analyzes wives' roles in "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 517–43.

[47] On the topic of Esther as an exemplar for obedience and intercession (with a focus on earlier centuries), see Lois L. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women,* ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana and Chicago, 1995), 126–46. Unlike the Merovingian queens, Esther had a long history of allegorical interpretation (the queen could stand for the Church and the Hebrew people for the world, for example); ibid., 129.

which could lead to damnation if it becomes a habit" ("se elle voit en son dit seigneur aucune tache de lait pechié duquel l'accoustumance lui peust tourner a dampnement," *TV* 1.13 [53]). Clotilda, for her part, had prayed "that her husband might recognize the true God and give up his idol-worship" which would lead to his perdition.[48] Christine had adapted this passage already in her *Cité des dames,* where Clotilda was celebrated for her missionary abilities: "Was she not the one through whom faith in Jesus Christ was first brought to and disseminated to the kings and princes of France?" ("ne fu elle pas celle par qui la foy de Jhesu Crist fu premierement mise et espandue es roys et es princes de France?"); indeed, she was so persistent that "she kept on prodding and begging her lord to receive the holy faith and be baptized" ("elle ne finoit de timonner et prier son seigneur que il voulsist recepvoir la sainte foy et estre baptisiez").[49] Christine concludes the chapter by insisting that it is because of Clotilda's devotion to her husband's salvation that today the French kings are called "tres christiens."[50]

The *Grandes Chroniques* describe her quick action in fetching St. Rémi once her husband is ready for conversion while still overjoyed by his triumph over the Alamans.[51] At that point he changes his name from Clovis to Louis, a scene touchingly depicted in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages.* When the archbishop asks one of the knights present at the baptism which name the newly Christian king should adopt, the knight suggests "Loys" and adds, "C'est biau nom sire."[52] Clotilda's achievement thus dramatizes a wife's skill in engineering her husband's salvation, and even more than that: Clotilda assures not only her husband's salvation but that of the entire French nation.

Clotilda is also celebrated as a peacemaker for she reconciles her two sons, "separated by the evil of discord" ("desjoint par le mal de discorde").[53] The special significance of this action for late medieval France has been noted by Anne D. Hedeman who shows that under Charles VI queens as peacemakers

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[48] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 2.30 (trans. Thorpe, 143).

[49] Curnow, "*Livre de la Cité des Dames,*" 2:870.

[50] Ibid. 2:871. On Clotilda's "preaching" to her husband, see Cordula Nolte, "Gender and Conversion in the Merovingian Era," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages,* ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville, 1997), 81–99, esp. 93. Generally on Clovis in Christine's works, see Danielle Buschinger, Liliane Dulac, and Christine Reno, "Note sur Clovis chez Christine de Pizan," *Speculum Medii Aevi* 2 (1996): 9–13.

[51] *Les Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Viard, 1:67–68.

[52] Miracle 39 in *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* ed. Paris and Robert, line 2383.

[53] *Les Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Viard, 1:149. Peacemaking was a new element of Merovingian hagiography. See Giselle de Nie, " 'Consciousness Fecund through God': From Female Fighter to Spiritual Bride-Mother in Late Antique Female Sanctity," in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages,* ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York and London, 1995), 101–61 at 147.

are for the first time included in miniatures. Queen Clotilda in particular gained a new significance because her positive function in governing the realm could serve as an example to Queen Isabeau de Bavière, the wife of the mad Charles VI.[54] At this time, her suspected liaison with Charles's brother, Louis d'Orléans, increased the discord already present in the kingdom. That Christine wanted Isabeau to be a peacemaker becomes clear in her *Epistre à la reine* (5 October 1405), composed at the same time as the *TV,* and also in the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile* (1410), where she addresses the queen in a pleading but at the same time exasperated tone to remind her that it is her duty as a queen and as a woman (more naturally inclined toward peace) to reconcile France's warring factions.[55] In the *TV* Christine insists that "the good princess will always be a peacemaker as much as it is in her power, as was in the olden days the good queen Blanche, mother of St. Louis, who always labored to reconcile the king with his lords" ("la bonne princepce sera tousjours moyenne de paix a son pouoir, si comme estoit jadis la bonne royne Blanche, mere de Saint Louys, que en ceste maniere se penoit tousjours de mettre accort entre le roy et les seigneurs," *TV* 1.9 [35]).

In addition to her political significance Clotilda was an exemplar of charity and piety. In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* for example, Clotilda leaves a church and is besieged by the poor to whom she "gives alms *with her own hands*" ("Donne s'ausmosne *de ses mains*").[56] Christine perspicaciously saw how important it is to the poor to receive the personal attention of the almsgiver and in her advice to secular noble ladies she therefore includes the topos of the personal touch, so common in saints' lives:

> Et meismement n'aura mie honte la bonne dame de viseter *elle meismes* aucunes fois les hospitaulx et les povres a tout son estat, acompaignee grandement

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[54] Hedeman, *Royal Image,* 170–71. (These miniatures, showing St. Clotilda with two of her four sons on each side [ibid., figs. 117 and 118], were in the style of the Master of the *Cité* who worked also under Christine's direction.) Isabeau was seen as a bad example by the preacher Jacques Legrand who attacked her in his sermons. See Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York and Oxford, 1992), 159.

[55] On these texts, see esp. Margarete Zimmermann, "Vox Femina, Vox Politica: The *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France,*" in *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan,* ed. Margaret Brabant (Boulder, 1992), 113–28; and Linda Leppig "The Political Rhetoric of Christine de Pizan: *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile,*" 141–56, in the same volume. See also Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Les exilées du pouvoir? Christine de Pizan et la femme devant la crise du Moyen Age finissant," in *Apogée et déclin en Europe, 1200–1500,* ed. Claude Thomasset and Michel Zink (Paris, 1993), 211–23. Christine first stated her conviction that women have a natural inclination toward peace in her *Epistre au dieu d'amours* of 1399.

[56] Miracle 39 in *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* ed. Paris and Robert, line 157 (my emphasis).

comme il appertient; parlera aux povres et aux malades, *les touchera* et con-
fortera doulcement en faisant son ausmone. . . . Car le povre est trop plus re-
conforté et plus prent en gré la doulce parole, la visitacion, et le reconfort d'une
grant et poissant personne que d'un autre . . . (*TV* 1.10 [38]; my emphasis).

[The good lady will never be ashamed to visit on occasion hospitals and the
poor in their own homes—always in company, as it is the custom. She will
speak to the poor and the sick, *touch them* and comfort them gently when she
gives them her alms. . . . For the poor are so much more comforted and grati-
fied by the gentle words, the visit, and the consolation provided by a great and
powerful person than by anyone else. . . .]

The poor should see that they are not despised, as Christine repeats in *TV* 1.12:
"as a reminder and as a sign that she must not despise the poor she will give
alms *with her own hands*" ("en memoire et signe que elle ne doit mie desprisier
les povres, donra *de sa main* l'aumosne" [48]; my emphasis). We will see that
the phrase "with her own hands" (that is, a personal touch) as the ultimate ex-
pression of true charity was also a veritable leitmotiv in the life of St. Elizabeth
that may have inspired Christine.

Clotilda can also serve as a more general exemplar in the area of piety and
devotional reading. In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Clotilda is particularly
attached to "mon livre"[57] Indeed, her first words in the play are to her servant
Ysabel, exhorting her to take the book and accompany her to church. Devo-
tional reading played an important part in medieval religious life, especially in
the later Middle Ages when there were more texts in the vernacular and a
somewhat higher literacy rate.[58] Christine underlines the importance of this
type of reading when she says, "This lady will gladly read books teaching good
morals and sometimes devotional books" ("Ceste dame lira voulentiers livres
d'enseignemens de bonnes meurs et aucunes fois de devocion," *TV* 1.11 [45]).
Clotilda thus also provided a model of a literate queen, who attends church and
has her servant carry her pious book.

Clotilda presents a complex saintly exemplar and many possible scenarios
for Christine's intended readers. As her husband's savior, mother of the Chris-

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[57] Ibid., line 174.

[58] See Hasenohr, "La vie quotidienne," and "Religious Reading amongst the Laity in
France in the Fifteenth Century," in *Heresy and Literacy, 1100–1530,* ed. Peter Biller and
Anne Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 205–21. For an interesting consideration of the situation in
England, see Andrew Taylor, "Into His Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medie-
val England," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England,* ed. James Raven,
Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge, 1996), 41–61; and, more generally, Joyce
Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*
(Cambridge, 1996).

tian French nation, as peacemaker, considerate almsgiver, and pious reader she incarnates the many functions and ideals Christine proposes to her audience.

Similar qualities distinguish Queen Balthild, the wife of Clovis II.[59] Following Balthild's *vita A*, attributed to a nun at Chelles who probably wrote it shortly after the queen's death, Vincent of Beauvais describes her in the *Speculum* as a woman of noble Saxon blood who was stolen from Britain and sold to a Frankish noble names Erchinoald.[60] Spurning his hand in marriage, she is rewarded with a higher rank when she marries Clovis II. (His reputation as a lecherous brute is mentioned neither in the *vita* nor by Vincent.) Good-looking with a cheerful face, serious and modest, sober, prudent, humble, and gracious, she seems to personify the ideal princess of the *TV*. Like Clotilda, she has a good influence on her husband: she "humbly and assiduously suggested things to the king for the benefit of the church and the poor."[61] Generally, in their exercise of charity and the balance they achieved between the active and contemplative lives Balthild and other queens come to exemplify a new ideal in hagiography that contrasts with earlier (male) models of asceticism and humility.[62] This kind of saint's life therefore is perfectly suited to provide answers to Christine's princess's urgent questions concerning the combination of the two lives we analyzed above.

Balthild's life falls into two parts: she was a powerful queen who for political reasons was later forced out of public life and became a religious. In her

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[59] On Balthild, see Marie-Louise Portmann, *Die Darstellung der Frau in der Geschichtschreibung des frühen Mittelalters* (Basel, 1958), 46–50; František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965), 411–14; Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1 (Oxford, 1978), 31–77; Suzanne Fonay Wemple, "Female Spirituality and Mysticism in Frankish Monasticism: Radegund, Balthild, and Aldegund," in *Peaceweavers*, ed. Lillian Thomas Shank and John A. Nichols (Kalamazoo, 1987), 39–54; Folz, *Les saintes reines*, 32–43; Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 187–90; Susanne Wittern, *Frauen, Heiligkeit, und Macht: Lateinische Frauenviten aus dem 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1994), 102–3; and Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 135–41. For the sources, see the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1898–99), 140–41.

[60] "Haec de transmarinis partibus depraedata, redempta est a venerabili viro Herchanoaldo . . ." (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 23.116 [939]). See the translation of *vita A* in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 264–78. There are also several later French prose versions of her life, recounting essentially the same story (adding, however, a trip by Clovis to the Holy Land). See *La Vie de Sainte Bathilde: Quatre versions en prose des XIIIe et XVe siècles*, ed. Anders Bengsston (Lund, 1996); for a study of the Latin sources and a brief comparison of *vita A* and *vita B*, see pp. xx–xxii in that edition.

[61] ". . . regi humiliter et assidue pro aecclesiis et pauperibus suggerens" (*vita A*, cited by Portmann, *Die Darstellung*, 48 n.108; translated in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 270).

[62] See Wemple, "Female Spirituality," 49.

first incarnation she gave alms to churches and the poor through "the hand" of the abbot Genesius; she also extirpated "the plague of simony and made cease the most impious public exactions (tax collecting)."[63] She was indeed well known for the tax remissions she pushed through, an ideal we find in Christine's *Livre de la paix* (1412–14) where one of her concerns is unjust taxation.[64] She also freed many captives and, like Clotilda, was celebrated as a peacemaker, not only among the lords of the different Frankish provinces but also among her sons, a role important, as we saw, for Clotilda in illuminations produced by the Master of the *Cité*. She was, as Janet Nelson observes, shown as "inaugurator of a new era of peace."[65] Balthild was the most active ruler among the holy women of that era, indeed she was the only one who directly administered public affairs.[66] She was thus a particularly fitting exemplar for the women to whom Christine addresses extensive advice on running councils, preparing for war, and other public functions.

Balthild also played an important role in the religious life of her time. She was involved in ecclesiastic and monastic reforms, "acquired relics, revitalized the cults of early Gallic saints, appointed abbots and bishops, and supported several prominent cloisters."[67] Vincent of Beauvais makes much of these public roles, but he also gives us a vivid picture of Balthild's charitable activities once she entered the cloister where she (like Clotilda and even more like St. Elizabeth, as we will see) ministered to the poor and the sick. Indeed, we see her "cleaning the filth of dung *with her own hands*."[68] Shortly before her death she had a vision where she saw a ladder in front of an altar dedicated to the Virgin leading up to the skies.

Balthild perfectly combines the "sacred and secular aspects of the monarchy."[69] Indeed, the bipartite division in Vincent's chapter, Christine's most likely source, emphasizes these two aspects of her achievements. The two domains should not be separated, however, for Balthild demonstrates how the religious and the political intersect. Nelson shows that for Balthild "those 'religious' aspects were at one and the same time political: to appropriate relics, to

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[63] "Faciebat autem eleemosynas multas ecclesiis, et pauperibus per manum Genesii Abbatis. . . . Haec regina pestem symoniacum a Francia extirpauit, et impissimas exactiones publicas cessare fecit" (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 23.116 [939]).

[64] See Charity Cannon Willard, *The "Livre de la paix" of Christine of Pisan: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes* (The Hague, 1958), 137.

[65] Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels," 51.

[66] Folz, *Les saintes reines,* 161.

[67] Coon, *Sacred Fictions,* 136.

[68] ". . . inquinamenta stercorum *propriis manibus* emundans" (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 23.116 [939]; my emphasis).

[69] Coon, *Sacred Fictions,* 136.

commandeer prayers, to pressurise bishops, to make dependents and allies of urban as well as rural monastic communities—all this was to gain power at once this-worldly and other-worldly."[70] Balthild's life thus provides another possible scenario for the *TV*'s princess. It dramatizes how a powerful woman can be active in the political arena without sacrificing her religious ideals and, for Balthild, even a claim to sanctity. Throughout the *TV* these are the very problems Christine deals with. Her evocation of Balthild thus suggests that she may have extrapolated from the life a number of problems and questions that she then goes on to address in the different chapters of her own work.

Saint Elizabeth

The inclusion of St. Elizabeth in Christine's list of exemplary saints goes to the very heart of her conception of ideal sainthood and its relation to the concerns of her audience. Christine endorses thirteenth-century ideals of active charity and voluntary poverty over the mystical aspirations more characteristic of her own time. This contrast was one of the most profound in Christian Europe at the time. Vauchez sees the *invasion mystique* as taking place between 1370 and 1430, a period that coincides more or less with Christine's lifetime.[71] In the thirteenth century the *imitatio Christi* was dominated by ideals of poverty and hands-on charity, propagated by the new mendicant orders; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the imitation of the suffering Christ came to the fore.[72] For Christine's purposes in the *TV* thirteenth-century ideals proved much more useful. Clearly, the mendicant orders' success meant that they "were well attuned to the concerns of the day"; they provided answers to the "moral anxieties" that beset the growing urban population.[73] Christine has her princess voice just such anxieties when she meditates whether her wealth will keep her out of heaven.

St. Elizabeth is an especially apt exemplar for rich, noble women: in one of the offices of St. Elizabeth an insistent call goes out to *mulieres opulentae* (wealthy women) who are exhorted to listen and try to do as the saint did.[74] Gábor Klaniczay has shown how Elizabeth early on became a "life model" for other aristocratic and royal women, in particular for her niece, Margaret of

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[70] Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels," 72.

[71] See André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981), 472.

[72] See ibid., 476, for a concise *mise au point* of these contrasting ideals.

[73] See Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven and London, 1986), 123–24.

[74] Reber, *Die Gestaltung*, 113.

Hungary.[75] Her asceticism, charity, sense of justice, and refusal to remarry after being widowed were all seen as exemplary by these women. But if her appeal were limited to the aristocracy it would be hard to explain her extraordinary popularity in different countries and different times. As a member of a powerful lineage her cult was supported and propagated by her family and over time became more and more popular. Her daughter, Sophie of Brabant, for example, made sure that the *Libellus de quattuor ancillarum,* the collection of testimonies of her four attendants and servants (January 1235), circulated in Flanders and Northern France. Her feast day was celebrated in these areas, including in Paris, by the late thirteenth century.[76] Writers like Vincent de Beauvais, Nicolas Bozon (who wrote a *Vie de sainte Elizabeth*),[77] and Rutebeuf helped make her story known in different circles. Her appeal widened once her story circulated, and she became a model for different groups of society: widows, the penitent, and aspiring ascetics, no matter what their rank. She was also seen as a representative of the *vie mixte,* for she represents, as Jacobus de Voragine insists, the three estates recognized as meritorious by the church: marriage, widowhood, and the religious life. For the *TV* this means that most of the segments of Christine's targeted readership could find something in her story that would speak to them. Elizabeth's multifaceted existence allowed Christine to extrapolate a large variety of problems and questions applicable to her project in the *TV.*

St. Elizabeth's life corresponded in many ways to the lives of Christine's audience. Born in 1207 as the daughter of the king of Hungary, she married the landgrave of Thuringia at age fourteen and had three children. If we can believe her hagiographers Elizabeth, unlike many other saints, did not see her marriage as a kind of martyrdom, forced upon her by her parents.[78] On the contrary, her *vitae* stress the love and harmony of this marriage, such as the facts that Elizabeth accompanied her husband on his travels, often ate at the same table, and

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[75] Gábor Klaniczay, "Legends as Life-Strategies for Aspirant Saints in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe,* trans. Susan Singerman, ed. Karen Margolis (Princeton, 1990), 95–110.

[76] Folz, *Les saintes reines,* 118, 126.

[77] See Ludwig Karl, "Vie de sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie par Nicolas Bozon," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 34 (1910): 295–314. This text dates from the late thirteenth century. In a second article, "Vie de sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie," ibid., 708–33, Karl edits an anonymous life from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

[78] Reber makes it clear, though, that there were efforts to show the marriage in a negative light—and thus make it conform more closely to hagiographic topoi—already in the canonization proceedings; evidence from people who knew the couple stresses their loving relationship (see Reber, *Die Gestaltung,* 204).

dissolved in tears when he left on the crusade where he would eventually die.[79] It seems that her husband was not opposed to her saintly ambitions. When Elizabeth asked to be woken up in the middle of the night for extra devotions and the servant mistakenly pulled at the husband's toe instead, he did not protest.[80] Jacobus de Voragine tells us that "the piety of her husband deserves praise for his part in all these doings. He had many interests to attend to but was devout in honoring God, and, since he could not personally get involved in such activities, gave his wife the freedom and the means to do whatever served the honor of God and made for the salvation of his soul."[81] Nonetheless, Elizabeth's story dramatizes "the conjugal life as a site of mutual human devotion and as a point of conflict and negotiation between pious, even saintly aspirations and worldly covenants and affairs."[82] This fundamental conflict is also visible in the advice given by the *journées chrétiennes* mentioned above—where the housewife must adjust her devotional practices to the exigencies of her husband and household—and informs the early sections of the *TV*. More dramatically, Elizabeth expresses her desire for poverty, unattainable within her aristocratic marriage, quite graphically when, after putting on "cheap, dingy clothing" and covering her head with a shabby scarf, she says, "This is how I will go about when I have attained the state of poverty."[83] But she does so only when she is alone with her serving women, that is, away from her husband. It is only after her husband's death in 1227 during a crusade that in fact she habitually dons this kind of clothing: "She lived in poor clothing after her husband's death and did no longer care about pretty things" ("En povre habit se maintint puis le temps de la mort son seigneur, ne n'ot onques cure de cointise").[84] By embracing the outward appearance of poverty denied her dur-

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[79] See ibid., 201–4.

[80] This anecdote is part of the testimony of one of her serving ladies and appears in most lives and also in Rutebeuf's *Vie de Sainte Elysabel*. On the concept of saintly models in that author, see Marie-Madeleine Castellani, "Deux modèles de sainteté laïque chez Rutebeuf: Elisabeth de Hongrie et les saints croisés," *Revue des sciences humaines* 251 (3/1998): 111–24. Another famous episode, that of the food for the poor changed into roses to deceive her husband (supposedly critical of her excessive charity), was not part of the early lives. It comes from a *vita* written by a Tuscan Franciscan in the second half of the thirteenth century. See Folz, *Les saintes reines*, 120.

[81] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993), 2:307.

[82] David Wrisley, "Narrating and Performing the Saintly in Romance: Philippe de Remi's *La Manekine*," forthcoming in *Essays on the Literary and Legal Writings of Philippe de Remy/Beaumanoir*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst (Lewiston, N.Y., 2000). I would like to thank David Wrisley for sharing his work with me before publication.

[83] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* 2:306.

[84] *Les Grandes Chroniques*, ed. Viard, 7:57. On the problem of Elizabeth's clothes and her social status, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Armut und Armenfürsorge um 1200: Ein Beitrag

ing her marriage, Elizabeth demonstrates that widowhood liberated medieval women—whether for political power or voluntary poverty.

For Elizabeth, the conjugal life that had somewhat restrained her saintly ambitions thus ended with the death of her husband Ludwig who had heeded the call to the cross by Conrad of Marburg, a Premonstratensian preacher who had come to Thuringia to encourage participation in a crusade. His growing influence at court made him a key figure in the lives of both Ludwig and Elizabeth. When as a widow Elizabeth was evicted from her castle by her brother-in-law and had to seek shelter elsewhere with her children, the role Conrad of Marburg played in her life intensified.[85] And when eventually her dowry was restored to her and she could employ it for charitable purposes, Conrad stood ready with advice. His rigorism and asceticism increasingly shaped Elizabeth's life—surely as a response to the pious cravings she had harbored since her childhood—and he encouraged her to use her wealth to found a hospital in Marburg. There Elizabeth devoted herself to the care of the sick and became a *soror in saeculo*, thus perfecting the ideal of combining the active and contemplative lives. The latter is exemplified by the visions of heaven she often had where she joyfully saw Jesus' face, the former by her devoted service to the poor and sick. Living the example of asceticism in poverty and service but remaining in the world and having visionary experiences allowed her to be both Mary and Martha.[86] The originality and importance of this twofold status should not be underestimated. Indeed, as Vauchez shows, there is no other contemporary example of this extraordinary personal devotion to the poor and the sick linked to the experience of perfect contemplation.[87]

Let us now look at some specific features that link Elizabeth to the concerns of the *TV*: the questions of poverty and salvation; of hands-on or personalized charity; and of the righteous exercise of power.

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zum Verständnis der freiwilligen Armut bei Elisabeth von Thüringen," in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige* (Sigmaringen, 1981), 78–100 at 80.

[85] See Wilhelm Maurer, "Zum Verständnis der heiligen Elisabeth von Thüringen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1953–54): 16–64. Maurer gives a thorough account of the complex role Conrad played in Thuringia's church politics. (Maurer's dismissal of the 1931 work of Elisabeth Busse-Wilson as pornography [17] is the subject of two interesting articles by Ulrike Wiethaus, "Feminist Historiography as Pornography: St. Elisabeth of Thuringia in Nazi Germany," *Medieval Feminist Newsletter* 24 [1997]: 46–54, and "Naming and Un-naming Violence against Women: German Historiography and the Cult of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia," *Studies in Medievalism* 9 [1997]: 187–208).

[86] Maurer, "Zum Verständnis," 41, 63.

[87] André Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté chez sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe, d'après les actes du procès de canonisation," in *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, 2 vols., ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1974), 1:163–73 at 169.

Christine's princess believes that it would have been easier for her to serve God without her wealth. She exclaims: "Dear God, if only you had put me into this world as a poor woman . . ." ("Hé Dieux! que me eusses tu establie au monde en l'estat d'une povre femme," *TV* 1.7 [26]). The princess thus addresses the problem of voluntary and involuntary poverty, claiming that involuntary poverty would have allowed her a more direct access to heaven. It is here that Saincte Informacion appears to correct this view by distinguishing between material and spiritual poverty. Margaret of Hungary (†1270), modeling herself on her aunt Elizabeth, significantly made a very similar remark. According to a witness at the canonization proceedings she said, "My God, I would rather be a handmaid of the poor than the daughter of a king, so that I could serve God better."[88] The remarkable similarity of these sentiments and their expression encourage us to see the princess as a kind of descendant of holy queens and princesses such as Elizabeth and Margaret. But we must also realize that Elizabeth's and especially Margaret's example is more extreme than what Christine would expect from her princess. Margaret evaded all her father's plans to marry her off, practiced various forms of extreme asceticism and "frenetic" service, refused to wash, etc.[89] Elizabeth also did much more than most pious women: she truly transformed herself into a poor handmaid despite the fact that she kept part of her wealth so that she could construct a hospital. Nonetheless, this kind of practical charity, which included the distribution of tools to the poor so that they could help themselves,[90] could set an example for the princess, albeit on a smaller scale. Elizabeth thus serves as a kind of foil for the princess who, for a moment, can consider such extreme forms of behavior but then can go on to reject or modify them. The fundamental choice Elizabeth made, namely a radical transformation of her social status, distinguishes her from her contemporaries and her predecessors and buttresses her claim to sanctity.[91] We should not forget, however, that this radical change

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[88] "Deus, vellem quod ego essem una ancilla pauperis potius, quam filia regis, quia magis possem servire Deo" (*Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis* 1:261, as cited and translated by Klaniczay, "Legends," 105; modified slightly). The author informed me that the English translation of his book mistakenly attributes this sentence to Elizabeth.

[89] See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Holy Women* (Berkeley, 1987), 136.

[90] Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 165.

[91] Reber had claimed that Elizabeth's behavior was more or less in line with that of preceding charitable queens from the sixth century to the tenth century (*Die Gestaltung*, 235). But if we look at Balthild, for example, we see that she did lowly work only once she entered the cloister and not in full sight of everyone, as did Elizabeth. Oexle in his important article on Elizabeth's voluntary poverty argues that her service to the poor can not be compared to

only occurred after Ludwig's death. Before 1227, as we saw, Elizabeth was constrained by the very obstacles Christine's princess lists in the *TV*: her family and her status in society. As Vauchez observes for Elizabeth, "her familial responsibilities, and especially the preeminent place she occupied in the local aristocratic society during her husband's lifetime, prevented her from adopting the status of a pauper to which she aspired."[92] But as a widow Elizabeth was finally able to adopt the life she desired. Perhaps Christine's princess can similarly defer her more extreme pious aspirations. But even if the princess can not follow entirely and immediately the example of Elizabeth she can nonetheless adopt certain aspects of the saint's behavior.

We may now turn to her personalized charity which finds a formulaic expression in the topos *propriis manibus* ("with her own hands"). Already explored for St. Clotilda and St. Balthild, this formulaic expression is even more prevalent for St. Elizabeth. Caesarius of Heisterbach, for example, specifies that in her almsgiving "she distributed all this *with her own hands*."[93] Jacobus de Voragine tells us that "often she lifted children of the poor from the baptismal font and sewed clothing for them *with her own hands*."[94] She also "made burial clothes for the departed poor *with her own hands*, and she attended their funerals, handling and touching them *with her own hands*."[95] The double occurrence of the formula within one sentence underlines the extraordinary importance her hagiographers attributed to this personal involvement. As Michel Mollat observes, "Elizabeth of Hungary . . . went beyond the usual forms of assistance and formed close relationships with poor people, thus personalizing the act of charity through actual involvement in the physical and moral suffer-

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that of earlier aristocratic ladies; see his "Armut und Armenfürsorge," 80. St. Francis, whom Elizabeth saw as a model and with whom she corresponded, certainly comes to mind as an example, but he was not of the highest nobility as was Elizabeth.

[92] Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 167.

[93] ". . . *propriis manibus* omnia hec distribuit" (*Die Schriften des Caesarius von Heisterbach über die heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen,* ed. Albert Huyskens, book 3, in vol. 3 of *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach,* ed. Alfons Hilka [Bonn, 1937], 361; my emphasis).

[94] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* 2:306. For other examples, see Vincent of Beauvais ("ad se rediens panniculos viles et abiectos *manibus propriis* assuens . . . ," *Speculum historiale* 30.136 [1279]; my emphasis) and the *Grandes Chroniques:* "Et *li meismes* leur aidoit à chaucier" (ed. Viard, 7:57; my emphasis).

[95] ". . . ad mortuorum pauperum sepulturam vestes *suis manibus* fecit et eos *propriis manibus* tractans et tangens exequiis eorum interfuit" (Albert Huyskens, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen* [Marburg, 1908], 118; my emphasis).

ing of labor."[96] Elizabeth thus inscribes herself into the "revolution of charity" visible in the thirteenth century.[97]

Christine had advised her princess to practice this personalized type of charity at least from time to time. As we have seen in the passage quoted on pp. 261–62 above, she should employ some "peine de son corps" (physical effort) when she aids the sick and the poor. Christine astutely observes that the poor are particularly comforted by the visit of a noble person who thus honors the most disdained members of society. As McNamara remarks of the saints that embraced voluntary poverty at the time, they "gave of themselves as well as of their goods."[98] Similarly the noble lady would "energize her charity through the gift of herself."[99] Indeed, she would acquire more merit through these visits than a lesser person would because she shows greater humility. If a great lady felt ashamed to go personally to these places, Christine adds, it would be the same as if she were ashamed of her salvation (*TV* 1.10 [38–39]). Christine has a whole psychological and moral arsenal at her disposal with which she makes this "personalized" form of charity palatable to her audience. Indeed, these actions go beyond the mere giving of alms which had often been "compared to the payment of a toll that opened the way to heaven" and for which the poor offered in return a prayer on behalf of the giver as a kind of "social gift."[100] Thus Christine supplements her advice of giving alms by subscribing to a form of active charity particularly prominent in the life of Elizabeth.[101]

Another area where the life of Elizabeth has special relevance for Christine's purposes is that of justice or the "righteous exercise of power."[102] For Elizabeth this concern was related to food through the famous *Speiseverbot*, an

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[96] Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages*, 157. See also Reber, *Die Gestaltung*, 237, for more examples of the formula.

[97] Oexle uses this term ("Armut und Armenfürsorge," 87) with reference to Mollat. See also Jo Ann McNamara, "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca and London, 1991), 199–221. This form of charity must also be seen in relation to the beguines, as Oexle points out ("Armut und Armenfürsorge," 90). In fact, in Rutebeuf's *Vie de sainte Elysabel* (*Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, 2 vols. [Paris, 1959–60], 2:101–66 at line 407) her future husband is accused of wanting to become a *beguin* by marrying her!

[98] McNamara, "Need to Give," 208.

[99] Laigle, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, 221: "[vivifier] sa charité par le don d'elle-même." We can contrast the vivid and concrete advice on charity of the *TV* with that given to the prince in the *Livre de la paix* (ed. Willard, 179) which is vague and colorless by comparison.

[100] Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages*, 130 and Oexle, "Armut und Armenfürsorge," 83–84.

[101] Christine believes that the rich person can be saved "qui ne prisera riens les richeces du monde, et se il les a il les distribue en bonnes œuvres et au servise de Dieu" (*TV* 1.7 [27]).

[102] The term is Klaniczay's ("Legends," 105).

interdiction by her confessor and mentor Conrad of Marburg of eating any food not acquired by legitimate means. It was up to Elizabeth to decide whether a given dish came from her husband's *iusta bona* (legitimate possessions).[103] Elizabeth thus always had to be aware of the origin of anything she ate. Did she indeed consider her husband's lordship a form of *brigandage,* as Vauchez suggests?[104] Would she only eat those goods that were received through administrators who treated the peasants well? Rutebeuf puts it like this: "She had all the food taken away of which she thought or guessed that it was acquired through robbery" ("Puis aprés li fist estrangier / Toute la viande a mangier / Dont ele pensse ne devine / Qui soit venue de rapine").[105] A mere suspicion was thus enough to reject food put before her. It would be difficult to overestimate the strange and anguished position Elizabeth found herself in at every dinner, particularly when the court was traveling. Jacobus de Voragine tells us that her husband was supportive of this practice, assigned her specific funds for her own use (presumably legitimately acquired), and even said "that he would gladly do the same himself if he were not afraid of upsetting the whole household."[106] Ludwig thus clearly expresses the potential social upheaval and embarrassment that could result from the *Speisevebot.*[107] In any case, this form of asceticism devised by Conrad certainly raised her social con-

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[103] See Maurer, "Zum Verständnis," 32. Since the court often moved and resided in one of several castles, it would be illegitimate to eat anything that came from surrounding ecclesiastical properties, for example. Here Conrad skillfully used Elizabeth in his church politics. This topic also comes up in handbooks of penance in the context of usury (see, for example, Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum,* ed. F. Broomfield [Louvain, Paris, 1968], 506–7; I would like to thank Sharon Farmer for this reference) and as a hagiographic motif, as in the *Life of Christina Mirabilis* by Thomas de Cantimpré written in 1232: "but when she ate anything given to her as alms which had been wrongly acquired, it seemed to her that she was swallowing the bowels of frogs and toads or the intestines of snakes. . . . Thus it was torture for her to eat any unjust plunder" (trans. Margot H. King, *The Life of Christina the Astonishing by Thomas de Cantimpre,* 2d ed. [Toronto, 1999], 29).

[104] Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté," 169. McNamara shows that other women had similar qualms, most likely though not as a consequence of their confessors' orders; for Marie d'Oignies and Ida of Louvain, see "Need to Give," 210.

[105] Rutebeuf, *Vie de sainte Elysabel,* lines 549–52.

[106] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* 2:306.

[107] I can not quite agree with Caroline Bynum who sees in Elizabeth's food practices an attempt to "[rivet] attention on her eating behavior by inquiring into the source of every morsel of food" and claims that Elizabeth only ate food purchased with her dowry (*Holy Feast,* 204, 193.) Isentrud, a witness at her canonization trial, specified that she would only eat food "de . . . justis bonis mariti" (from the *Libellus de quattuor ancillarum* as reprinted in *Oeuvres completes de Rutebeuf,* ed. Faral and Bastin, 2:80.) This seems to imply that she would indeed accept food that came from her husband's legitimate possessions. According to Jacobus de Voragine's version, admittedly later and most likely with its own agenda, Elizabeth tried to hide her food practices in order not to upset her guests (*Golden Legend* 2:305).

sciousness and that of her intimate entourage privy to these practices. The interdiction partly corresponds to some other contemporary concerns, such as the insistence that "alms must come from legitimate property and income. Stolen goods did not qualify. . . ."[108] But the *Speiseverbot* was more extreme. Indeed, on the occasion of Elizabeth's canonization in 1235 Pope Gregory IX proclaimed as one of her major achievements that she had never touched ill-gotten goods.[109]

How did Christine integrate this type of concern into her *TV*? The tenth chapter of book 1 is entirely devoted to the exercise of charity which can take several forms. For example, the lady can send support to those living in poverty (including women in child bed, students, priests, and monks) through a devout and honorable almoner. These gifts should be sent secretly, by the example of St. Nicholas.[110] We have already considered the passage in which Christine counsels the princess to visit hospitals as a way to show her charity and her humility. As for the possibility of ill-gotten riches, Christine's advice is, not unexpectedly, more moderate than Conrad's stern orders:

> Mais tu me diras: comment fera la grant dame ces aumosnes et ces choses se elle n'a argent, car devant est dit qu'il y a peril a amasser tresor? Si te respons ad ce que ce n'est point de mal que la princepce ou grant dame amasse tresor de l'argent et de la revenue ou pension qui lui puet venir *licitement de son droit et sans extorcion faire* (*TV* 1.10 [39]; my emphasis).

> [But you will ask me: how can the great lady give alms and these other things if she has no money, for earlier it was said that it is risky to amass riches? I answer you that there is no harm in the princess or great lady amassing riches from revenues or income that is *rightfully hers and gotten without extortion*.]

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108 Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages,* 133.

109 Cited by Maurer, "Zum Verständnis," 33.

110 St. Nicholas († ca. 350), bishop of Myra, is reputed to have given a secret gift of three gold balls to young girls whose father could not afford their dowry. Richard C. Trexler points out that this father was a not a poor man: "[O]ne of the most persistent examples of saintly charity is aid to fallen nobles. St. Nicholas aids a noble so that his daughters will not become prostitutes . . ." ("Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes," in *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History,* ed. Frederic Cople Jaher [Urbana, 1973], 64–109 at 70). In a later chapter Christine reverses this advice when she says, "et combien que aumosne doye estre faicte secretement . . . mieulx seroit la donner publiquement qu'en secret pour ce que elle donroit bon exemple a autrui" (*TV* 1.17 [67]). Here the positive aspects of giving a good example to others outweigh the humility of secret giving. See also the didactic *Somme le Roi* which endorses both secret and public giving, depending on the circumstances (*The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth-Century English Translation of the "Somme le Roi" of Lorens d'Orléans,* ed. W. Nelson Francis, Early English Text Society, o.s., 217 [London, 1942], 216).

Christine thus also puts the burden on the princess to determine whether her income is legitimate. Similarly in the *Livre du corps de policie* Christine insists that every segment of society should live "by good policy without receiving anything through extortion or an unreasonable charge" ("par bonne policie sans recevoir nulle extorcion ne charge desordenee") so that the good prince "could have from them legal revenue which he may reasonably to collect and take from his country, without gnawing his poor commoners until they bleed" ("que il puisse avoir d'eulx licite revenue si qu'il lui appertient a cueillir et prendre sur son pays raisonnablement sans trop pres rongner son povre commun ne jusques au sanc")[111]—a concern that would surely have been endorsed by Conrad and Elizabeth. As for the princess of the *TV*, once she has ascertained that her income is legitimate she may keep with a good conscience enough money for her necessities, including gifts and salaries for servants (for she must keep up her position in society). She must also pay her debts before giving away any alms. This advice is quite in keeping with the life Elizabeth led outwardly before her husband's death. (Her nighttime ascetic exercises were known only to her intimate attendants.) Again, we see that her life may have inspired Christine to consider certain issues with which she, as a working widow in constant need of money, may not have been too familiar.

Caesarius of Heisterbach tells us, as do other hagiographers, that Elizabeth perfectly exemplified Mary and Martha, the contemplative and the active lives.[112] In an alternation that was considered an ideal in Elizabeth's and still in Christine's time, one or the other dominated at different times in her life.[113] In the iconography of Elizabeth depictions of the two lives are very prominent: in a miniature in a psalter made for her, for example, a contemplative woman prays before an altar on the left, while active charity feeds and clothes the poor on the right.[114] This same concern for the two lives structures chapters 6 and 7 in the *TV*. We can see how absolutely central this concern was for Christine when she later returns to the topic in a chapter on daily devotions, the conduct of councils, and the observance of feast days. Here she speaks of ladies who have numerous public duties that prevent them from spending more time in prayer and who may yearn for a more pious life:

> ... s'ainsi n'estoit que elles voulsissent du tout entendre a la vie contemplative et laissier la vie active, si que j'ay dit. Car la contemplative puet bien sans

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[111] Christine de Pizan, *Livre du corps de policie* 1.10 (ed. Kennedy, 17).

[112] *Die Schriften des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed Huyskens, 367.

[113] See Constable, "Interpretation of Mary and Martha," 107.

[114] See E. Dinkler-v. Schubert, "Vita activa et contemplativa," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1972), cols. 463–68 at col. 466.

l'active, mais la droicte bonne active ne puet sans aucune partie de la contemplative (*TV* 1.12 [48]).

[. . . it could even happen that they want to devote themselves completely to the contemplative life and abandon the active life, as I mentioned before. For the contemplative life can well exist without the active, but the truly good active life can not exist without at least a part of the contemplative life.]

But the truly contemplative life is only possible in the cloister, as Christine claimed earlier, and therefore our princess must embrace the mixed life. Since in the life of St. Elizabeth the two lives existed in perfect harmony, she was both Mary and Martha, as witnesses and hagiographers insisted again and again. Her story, beloved in many countries, could thus provide countless points of reference for an anguished princess in early fifteenth-century Paris.

SAINT LOUIS

When Jean de Joinville looked back in his old age at the time of his life with St. Louis and wrote his *Vie de Saint Louis* the admiration and affection he felt for the king are palpable in every sentence. At the opening of the *Vie*, as Joinville explains, Louis's many functions and accomplishments, he says in regard to his saintly side:

Et ces autres choses ai je fait escrire aussi a l'onneur du vrai cors saint, pour ce que par ces choses desus dites en pourra veoir tout cler que onques *homme lay* de nostre temps ne vesqui si saintement de tout son temps, des le commencement de son regne iusques a la fin de sa vie (ed. Monfrin, 2–4, par. 4; my emphasis).

[And these other things I have written down in honor of this true saint, so that through the things written below one will be able to see clearly that no other *layman* in our time lived in as saintly a manner, during his entire life, from the beginning of his reign to the end of his life.]

Louis IX never renounced the world in order to become a saint. Rather, his accomplishments in the world gained him a place in the elect group of canonized saints: he was the perfect lay saint. He was also the epitome of the *rex justus* and the *norma sanctitatis regibus*,[115] that is, he defined a new norm, a new ideal of a ruler who combined piety and just power. More than any other ruler,

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[115] See Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 415; and Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VIᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles)* (Brussels, 1984), 107.

Louis strove "to invest secular reality with religious spirit."[116] But unlike earlier royal confessor or martyr saints, Louis lived a worldly life that included sexuality in marriage, war, and politics.[117] He was also an extraordinary example of active charity and an accomplished peacemaker—all topics that Christine addresses in the *TV*. With these qualities St. Louis in fact embraced a "tradition in which men performed the roles formerly allotted to women,"[118] which made him a perfect exemplar for women, such as Jeanne de Navarre (†1305), wife of Philippe IV le Bel, who suggested to Joinville the redaction of the *Vie*. This transgression of gender boundaries thus can explain St. Louis's presence in the *TV*'s gallery of female saints. It also explains why St. Louis was "forcefully prescribed to [Jeanne d'Evreux †1371] as a behavioural exemplar,"[119] a message conveyed in the splendid images of her Book of Hours. Illuminated by Jean Pucelle, the book (produced between 1324 and 1328) was a present to her from her husband Charles IV. The illuminations show St. Louis as a "personification of charity" and, by inscribing Jeanne's persona into the images, unite "the saint and his descendant in devotional and dynastic concerns."[120] Christine's use of St. Louis as an example for a female audience thus has a powerful precedent.

Christine mentions St. Louis also in connection with the French king Charles V whom she admired immeasurably:

> Monseigneur saint Loys, roy de France avoit en grant reverence et devocion et moult honnouroit sa feste, de saint Remi, sainte Katherine, saint Antoine, sainte Agnes et d'autres, dont n'est point de doubte que, ainsi comme il est dit en l'ystoyre de saint Loys, la devocion, qu'il ot aux benois sains les fist estre intercesseurs par devers Dieu, si que ses besoignes en vindrent à meilleur chief en toutes choses (*Livre des fais et bonnes meurs,* ed. Solente, 1:97).

> [He held in great reverence and was much devoted to monseigneur Saint Louis, and he greatly honored his feast day, as he did those of St. Rémi, St. Catherine, St. Anthony, St. Agnes, and others. And there is no doubt that, as it is said in

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[116] André Vauchez, "The Idea of God," in *The Laity in the Middle Ages,* trans. Margery J. Schneider, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein (Notre Dame, 1993), 3–26 at 23.

[117] See Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 837–38. As for sexuality, Le Goff cites the interesting counterexample of the German emperor Henry II (†1024) who could become a saint (in 1146) only after the legend of his virginal marriage had been invented (838).

[118] Jo Ann McNamara, "*Imitatio Helenae:* Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography,* ed. Sandro Sticca, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 141 (Binghamton, 1996), 51–80 at 80. Vauchez briefly mentions St. Elizabeth as a model for St. Louis; see "Charité et pauveté," 166.

[119] Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (1994): 585–611 at 585–86.

[120] Ibid., 591 and 603.

the history of St. Louis, that the great devotion he had toward these blessed saints made them function as intercessors so that all his tasks came to a good end.]

Charles V thus imitates the pious practices of his illustrious predecessor and, like him, relies on many saintly intercessors—who now include St. Louis himself. For Charles, Louis was "the flower, the honor, and the mirror not only of our royal lineage, but of all French people."[121] Christine lived in a time and a place that were imbued with a special veneration of St. Louis.[122] More specifically, her mention of the "history of St. Louis" may indicate that she knew Joinville's text, though this reference could also refer to the *Grandes Chroniques*. Of the many functions and qualities of St. Louis, detailed in a large number of sources, I would like to focus on two that are relevant to the *TV* where the king is the only male exemplar in our group of model saints: his charity and his activities as a peacemaker.

As Mollat observes, "No other king of France can compare to Louis IX for his personal involvement in charitable activities."[123] On the one hand, Louis was involved in public charitable ventures, such as the expansion of the royal almonry, his strong support of the mendicants and the beguines, or the foundation of the Maison des Filles-Dieu, an order for reformed prostitutes. On the other, there were his more personal and even secret missions of charity. When we compare the beneficiaries of Louis's overt charity with those singled out for the charitable efforts of Christine's princess we can see great similarities. Joinville tells us:

> Par desus toutes ces choses, le roy donnoit chascun jour si grans et si larges aumosnes aus povres de religion, aus povres hospitau, aus povres malades et aus autres povres colleges, et aus povres gentilz homes et fames et damoiselles, a femmes decheus, a povres femmes veuves et a celles qui gisoient d'enfant, et a povres *menestriers* qui par vieillesce ou par maladie ne pooient labourer ne maintenir leur mestier, que a peinne porroit l'en raconter le nombre (ed. Monfrin, 358, par. 722).

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[121] From the *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* (1374); cited by Folz, *Les saints rois*, 146.

[122] Generally on the cult of St. Louis in Christine's time, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, chap. 3.

[123] Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages*, 138. As a king Louis also fits into the paradigm of the generous ruler, a tradition going back at least to the Roman emperors. Early hagiographers transformed "building projects, donatives, almsgiving, and other republican and imperial forms of civic philanthropy into pious contributions to the cults of saints and martyrs" (Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 97). Generally on charitable activities in this era, see Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1987), chap. 6.

[Above all other things, the king gave every day such great and generous alms
to poor monks, to poor hospitals, to poor sick people and to other poor commu-
nities, to poor noblemen and women and young girls, to women fallen from
their position, to poor widows and to women in child bed, to poor workers who
could because of old age or illness no longer work and keep up their profession,
that one could hardly tell about all of them.]

Christine exhorts her princess to inquire about and help

povres honteux,[124] povres gentilz hommes ou povres gentilz femmes malades
ou decheus de leur estat, povre veuves, mainagiers souffraicteux, povres
pucelles a marier, acouschees, escolliers, prestres ou religieux en povreté" (*TV*
1.10 [37]).

[. . . poor people full of shame, poor noblemen and poor and sick noblewomen
who have fallen from their position, poor widows, suffering householders, poor
girls of marriageable age, women in childbed, students, and priests or monks
living in poverty.]

Looking at this group, we see that for the most part these are not the real poor,
the downtrodden living in the streets, but rather the (formerly) propertied poor
who, because of their social status, can not beg. These are the socially weak,
who, like Christine right after her husband's death, experience the fear and an-
guish of not being able to maintain their position and thus are designated as the
recipients of charitable donations. The princess's visits to the poor in hospitals,
on the other hand, probably targets the real poor. Christine eventually turns to
this group at the end of the *TV,* in book 3.13. Interestingly, charity is no par-
ticular concern here. On the contrary, the poor are exhorted to accept gladly
their poverty ("prendre en gré vostre povreté," *TV* 3.13 [224]), trust in God,
and to desire only those things that are agreeable to him. Thus Christine com-
forts the poor with a vision of Paradise, offering no hope for an improvement
of their lives in this world.

We remarked earlier with Mollat that alms were seen as a kind of toll to
open the way to heaven. Christine certainly endorses this view in her *Livre du
corps de policie,* where she seems to commend the real poor to the prince. Here
she says that his advisers should tell the prince "to have pity and compassion
[on the poor and indigent] and do good to them for the love of God and in this
way he will gain paradise" ("qu'il en ait pitié et compassion et leur face bien

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[124] These are the "shamed poor," that is, fallen nobles. See Trexler's detailed analysis of
this group (the *poveri vergognosi*) in his "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites." See also
Giovanni Ricci, "Naissance du pauvre honteux: entre l'histoire des idées et l'histoire sociale,"
Annales—Économie Sociétés Civilisations 38 (1983): 158–77.

pour l'amour de Dieu si gaignera paradis").[125] This is just one additional example of the many instances where Christine addresses herself to the question of poverty. Depending on the work and the context, Christine's views of the poor are varied and sometimes even contradictory, oscillating between compassion and fear.[126] In the *TV* in any case the role of the poor as objects of charity predominates, and it is here that we rejoin the exemplary St. Louis.

In addition to giving alms, Louis practiced a hands-on charity similar to that of St. Elizabeth. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus devotes several chapters of his *Vie de Saint Louis* to his love and compassion of others, his humility and charity.[127] Visiting a Maison-Dieu, for example, Louis "served the poor *with his own hands*" ("servoit les povres *a ses propres mains*," *Vie*, 64; my emphasis); or on another occasion he aids the blind among the poor by putting "the morsel of bread into his hand *with his own hands*"; ("le morsel de pain en la main *a ses propres mains*," *Vie*, 79; my emphasis). In a famous episode Louis visited the sick at the abbey of Royaumont where, as the hagiographer insists, he touched the wrists and the temples of the sick, consulted with their doctors, and even put his hands on the very place of their illness. Louis gave special attention to a monk suffering from leprosy: he kneeled before him and served him food (*Vie*, 95).[128] Like Christine's princess's visit to the poor this act is to be exemplary; Jacques Le Goff sees it as an occasion for Louis "to give humbly

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[125] Christine de Pizan, *Livre du corps de policie* 1.5 (ed. Kennedy, 8).

[126] On the different concepts of the poor and Christine's views, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Christine et les pauvres," in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis (Berlin and New York, 1994), 206–20. Susan Dudash analyzes Christine's often contradictory attitudes toward the poor in "Victim or Rebel? A Case for the Significance of the People in Christine de Pizan" (paper presented at the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies conference "Peace, Negotiation, and Reciprocity: Strategies of Co-Existence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance" [February 1998]).

[127] See Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis,* ed. H.-François Delaborde (Paris, 1899), esp. chap. 11.

[128] I believe that these humble actions have to be distinguished from the "royal touch," which had a more ceremonious aspect to it and was especially for people suffering from scrofula. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, as Marc Bloch observes, "ne parle du toucher qu'en passant" and rather highlights the king's personal touch of compassion and charity; see Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges* (1924; new ed. and preface by Jacques Le Goff, Paris, 1983), 128. Louis' feeding of the leprous monk is depicted in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, fol. 123v. See Gerald B. Guest, "A Discourse on the Poor: The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," *Viator* 26 (1995): 153–80, fig. 7 on 167. See also the comments on this manuscript by Michael Camille in *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass, 1992), esp. 136. On fol. 148v (Guest, "Discourse on the Poor," fig. 1) beggars support the Gothic frame in which St. Louis washes the feet of the poor.

but publicly an example of doing homage to someone who suffers in his heart and whose dignity has been hurt."[129]

The *Grandes Chroniques* give further evidence of Louis's service of the poor. Based on Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de saint Louis,* this text tells of Louis in a "secret place," washing and kissing the feet of the poor, serving them food and drink and even kneeling before them.[130] These examples could be multiplied. Louis's Christ-like humility goes beyond anything Christine could suggest to her princess in the *TV* and was, of course, one of Louis's claims to sanctity. The princess must maintain her social station and can not practice this type of charity nor go around, as both Elizabeth and Louis did frequently, in poor clothes or even a hair shirt—proof of their close association with the mendicants.[131] Thus the middle way espoused by the princess is not quite the same as that trodden by Christine's exemplary saints.

In the domain of peacemaking, though, Louis and especially his mother Blanche de Castille could be fully exemplary. Blanche had already appeared in the *Cité* where her just rule and attractiveness (even late in life) had been celebrated. In the *TV,* as we saw above, Blanche appears as an exemplary peacemaker (*TV* 1.9 [35]). Louis himself stressed the importance of peace, particularly of interior peace, in his *Enseignements à son fils aîné.* Louis tells his son that he will be worthy of being called a king if he maintains peace with his subjects. He must not tolerate private wars and disputes; otherwise he may risk losing the kingdom.[132] Further, in a concern harking back to St. Elizabeth and anticipating Christine, Louis tells Philippe that "if you learn that you own anything illicitly, either from your own reign or from that of your ancestors, give it back right away. . . . Have it given back immediately in order to save your soul and the souls of your ancestors" ("se tu entenz que tu tiengnes riens a tort ou de ton temps ou du temps de tes ancesseurs, tantost le rent. . . . Tantost le fai rendre pour la delivrance de t'ame et des ames de tes ancesseurs").[133] Philippe must also keep good relations with the cities which have often allied themselves with him against powerful nobles who wished him ill.[134]

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[129] Le Goff, *Saint Louis,* 880.

[130] *Les Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Viard, 7:195.

[131] In this context Beaune remarks that "Saint Louis embodied the moderate position: his clothes were humble but not too humble, just as the Friars Minor allowed few material goods but could legitimately possess those" (*Birth of an Ideology,* 96).

[132] See David O'Connell, ed., *Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill, 1972), 58.

[133] Ibid., 57

[134] *Les Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Viard, 7:279. On Louis's efforts to maintain exterior peace see Folz, *Les saints rois,* 110–11. On Christine's ideas on interior and exterior peace, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, " 'Enemies Within/Enemies Without': Threats to the Body Politic in Christine de Pizan," *Medievalia et Humanistica,* n.s., 26 (1999): 1–15.

The preacher Etienne de Bourbon tells a story of St. Louis that illustrates his astute views of the benefits of charity in connection with his peacekeeping mission. One day when Louis very generously gives alms to the poor with his own hands, he is confronted by a monk who tells him that he has well seen the king's misdeeds (implying that such large alms presuppose equally large sins?). The king responds that these poor people are his soldiers who fight against his enemies and maintain the peace in his kingdom.[135] This anecdote proves that virtuous and pious conduct toward the poor results in both spiritual and practical rewards. Christine also was aware that good treatment of the poor does not only open the way to paradise but also assures peace in the realm. She observes in the *TV* that "the subjects create the lord, not the lord the subjects" ("les subgiéz font le seigneur, non mie le seigneur les subgiéz," *TV,* 1.17 [70]). Benevolence and gentleness are thus not only necessary Christian virtues but part of a ruler's strategy to keep the people from rebelling.[136] In Christine's advice to her noble ladies political expediency and religious precept—both personified in the figure of St. Louis—are thus inextricably linked.

St. Louis as the ideal ruler and perfect saint could serve as a mirror held up to Christine's princess. Many of his activities were imitable (albeit on a smaller scale), while others remained in the unattainable realm of the admirable. But however incomplete and imperfect the princess's reflection may be in that mirror, St. Louis and the three female saints whose portraits we just contemplated could point Christine's readers toward the right path. Their example would exhort them that they should strive for reasonable perfection within this world. Christine carefully chose those saints as her exemplars that could offer more than one possible way of life to her audience. The scenarios enacted by the royal saints of book 1 could be fully or partially embraced by the women Christine addressed in the *TV*. While Christine did not intend to turn her audience into saints—the plethora of worldly advice on life at court, in the shop, and on the farm as well as on women's love life makes this clear—she could appeal to her saintly models for help in the composition of the *TV*. Reading the lives of women like St. Clotilda or St. Elizabeth would allow Christine to formulate questions on the religious life and on political obligations, such as peacekeeping, that she could then put into the princess's mouth. Thinking about St. Louis, Christine could construct a model for charity at the highest level. Partial scripts or rewritten scenarios of saints' lives thus formed one of the bases of the *TV*. Whether Christine's audience followed these scripts *à la*

[135] See Le Goff, *Saint Louis,* 367.
[136] The possible rebellion of the people and means to prevent it are treated at length in book 3 of Christine's *Livre de la paix.*

lettre or rewrote them was finally up to them, the women "in all countries throughout the world" that she hoped would read her work in the future.[137]

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[137] See *TV* 3.14 (225).

NEW BENEVENTAN LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS IN LANCIANO, LUCERA, AND PENNE CONTAINING FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE OLD BENEVENTAN CHANT*

Thomas Forrest Kelly

THREE new liturgical fragments in Beneventan script and musical notation are described here. The fragments, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are evidence of books of music for use in the liturgy: two graduals with tropes and sequences, and one antiphoner. In southern Italy complete books of these types survive in very small numbers, so any new discovery is valuable in what it teaches us about the number and distribution of books for the liturgy. These fragments, however, are of particular interest. Two of the three contain liturgical material (parts of two masses) from the Old Beneventan liturgy, practiced in southern Italy before the adoption there of the chant now called Gregorian. The remaining fragment has a distinctive south-Italian repertory for the Roman mass and includes material from this repertory found in no other source: a lost south Italian trope from Montecassino and a mass for St. Amicus that is otherwise unknown.

In what follows, each fragment will be described physically, its contents inventoried and analyzed, and a transcription made of the surviving texts. The paleographical descriptions of the fragments depend on the advice of Virginia Brown.

As new sources in Beneventan script continue to turn up, it becomes increasingly clear that close attention to fragments has much to teach us. Although we continue to wish that more complete documents had survived, there is a great deal to be learned from the close observation of what remains. Not only do fragments contribute to the larger picture of writing and usage, but even in fragmentary form they may preserve—as these documents do—texts, music, and other information that only they can provide.

LANCIANO, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI CHIETI, SEZIONE LANCIANO,
FONDO NOTARILE GIOVANNI CAMILLO GIRELLI 1632–1638

A bifolium from a gradual of the twelfth century. The manuscript, probably designed for use at San Pietro Avellana, contains music for the feasts of late October and for parts of November. It preserves a trope for All Saints, probably from Montecassino, that is otherwise unrecoverable, and the beginning of a unique mass for St. Amicus.

Description.

The volume of notarial records once covered by this fragment was from the Fondo Notarile Giovanni Camillo Girelli, 1632–1638. It consists of 119 numbered paper folios; on the top of the first page is written "1632 al 1638," and the name "Giovanni Camillo Girelli" is found many times in the volume. The bifolium has been detached and is now kept in a folder with the pencil indications "1632/38" and "12." On the flesh side of the fragment, upside down with respect to the original Beneventan script, is written "Camillo Girelli," and the series of years between 1632 and 1638. The volume was restored in 1994–95 by the firm Restauro "San Giorgio" di Pandimuglio Massimiliano, located at Soriano nel Cimino (Viterbo). Camillo was a notary active at Roio del Sangro, a modest-sized town on a promontory overlooking the Sangro, a short distance downstream from San Pietro Avellana.

Each folio of the fragment measures about 332×225 mm., with a writing area measuring 255×133 mm. containing ten long lines of music and text. The fragment is dark and stained on the flesh side, which served as the outside of the notarial document. The fragment is slightly mutilated at its outer edges and at the bottom; of three holes in the parchment, only one deprives us of text or music.

The parchment was ruled on the hair side after being folded and pricked. Prickings visible in the outer margin guided the ruling of four drypoint lines for each system, one line serving as the base for the text and the other three as a musical staff. Double vertical bounding lines define the inner and outer margins.

The script is written in a brownish-black ink; a darker black ink was used for the neumes. Orange-red ink was used for rubrics, initial letters, and the colored staff-line that indicates the musical pitch F.

Decorated letters include three drawn in black ink for the beginnings of three masses. These occupy the space of one line of text and music, and have space provided for them inside the left margin. They are either intricate interlace patterns terminating in an animal's head (the letter *D* used for both St. Clement

and the Vigil of St. Andrew) or the composition of intertwined animals used for the letter *G* of All Saints. These letters look as though they were meant to be filled in with colored inks. The mass of St. Amicus begins with a letter *D* in red ink, consisting of a loop decorated with curved flourishes. A red initial *I* of smaller dimensions begins the trope for All Saints. Other initial letters, used at the beginning of individual chants, consist of black letters infilled or decorated with the orange-red ink of the rubrics. Orange-red ink is used in the texts of chants to indicated places where a reprise is to begin (as after an introit-verse) or where a chant resumes after an interruption (as with the introit of All Saints, in which the trope-verses are to be intercalated).

The musical notation is elegant without being fussy, clearly the work of an experienced notator. As in most notations of the twelfth century, the quilisma is not used.

The script exhibits an interesting mix of features.[1] Characteristic of the Bari type: the slight leftward lean; a roundish aspect achieved in part by the circular bowls of *a* and *d;* the round upper loop of *e* that is noticeably large, and the absence of sharply defined lozenges; straight-shouldered *r* in ligature (*ri* excepted). From the Montecassino variety of Beneventan the script takes *s* and final *r* that descend below the base-line, straight *i* in ligature, and the style of decoration used for majuscules beginning a new text. This Bari-Cassinese blend suggests, of course, that the fragment was copied in an area subject to dual palaeographical influence. The closure of the lower loop of *e* when the letter is written by itself, i.e., in final position or isolated from the remainder of the word, supports the twelfth-century date proposed above for the musical notation. Since the use of crenellated majuscule *Q* ("*Quos*") as late as the twelfth century points to the Abruzzo, it is likely that the scribe was working in a center located in a southern area of that region, i.e., near Puglia. As we shall see shortly, this surmise in confirmed by some distinctive textual features.

This was probably the next to innermost bifolium of the quire. Musical materials between the two folios of this fragment would probably have included the rest of the mass of St. Amicus; the mass of St. Martin (11 Nov.), which might have included tropes; in addition, a number of other masses would have been indicated with cues to chants found earlier in the manuscript or in the common of saints.[2]

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[1] This paragraph is based on the suggestions and descriptions of Virginia Brown.

[2] Masses which would mostly consist of cued materials include SS. Valentine and Hilarius (2 Nov.), the Quattuor Coronati (8 Nov.), St. Theodore (9 Nov.), St. Martin I, pope (10 Nov.), St. Menna (10 or 11 Nov.), the Vigil of St. Martin, confessor (Nov. 10), St. John Chrysostom (13 Nov.), and St. Gregory Thaumaturgi (17 Nov.). This list is based on the masses found in the "Breviarium" in London, British Library Egerton 3511 (formerly Benevento 29), the closest source to our fragment (on this source, see p. 301 and n. 28 below). The amount of

Contents.

This handsome gradual has features of particular interest for musical and liturgical scholars. It regularly contains certain liturgical elements that elsewhere were already disappearing in the twelfth century. The verses for the offertory, which were beginning to disappear in twelfth-century manuscripts, are regularly present in southern Italian manuscripts, and it is characteristic to find them here. Psalm-verses for the communion are regularly recorded here, as they are in other graduals in the orbit of Montecassino (Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 546, an incomplete gradual of the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082, a notated missal of the twelfth century closely derived from Montecassino usage), though they are not used in the graduals of Benevento of the eleventh and twelfth century.[3]

The *versus ad repetendum* appears regularly with introits and communions in this fragment. Such verses are generally thought to be sung after the psalmody and doxology, and they imply a further repetition of the introit or communion antiphon.[4] They occur in early manuscripts and *ordines* but are quite rare in the twelfth century. They do, however, appear regularly for introits and communions in Vat. lat. 6082 for Sundays and the feasts of saints.[5] It may be that this tradition of *versus ad repetendum* survived in the Cassinese orbit, if not at Montecassino itself, in an area represented by our fragment and by Vat. lat. 6082. At Montecassino the practice of using *versus ad repetendum* was in decline after the twelfth century, to judge from the incomplete gradual Monte-

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space required between these two surviving folios depends greatly, of course, on the extent of the mass of St. Martin.

[3] The five graduals in Beneventan script in the Biblioteca capitolare of Benevento, MSS 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, all present the communion generally without psalmody. For some manuscripts from elsewhere that contain communion verses, see Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971), 401–2.

[4] For further information on the communion psalmody and the *versus ad repetendum*, see David Hiley, *Western Planchant* (Oxford, 1993), 496–99. While *versus ad repetendum* are occasionally found in later manuscripts for the introit (see *Paléographie musicale* 15 [Solesmes, 1937; rpt. Berne, 1971], 165–66), they are extremely rare for the communion. A few such verses for the introit are noted by Alejandro Enrique Planchart in *Beneventanum troporum corpus I: Tropes of the Proper of the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, 2 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 16 and 17–18 (Madison, 1994), 1:xxii–xxxiii (Table 1).

[5] In cases where the chant in question is indicated only by its incipit no psalm-verse or *versus ad repetendum* is given. The psalmody and *versus ad repetendum* in our fragment for the introit and communion of All Saints and the communion of St. Andrew appear in Vat. lat. 6082; the other such verses in our fragment are not given in Vat. lat. 6082 since there the chants are given as incipits.

cassino 546, whose *versus ad repetendum* for introits of a few major feasts have subsequently been eradicated from the manuscript.[6]

The verses for introits and communions in the Lanciano fragment are cited according to the Roman Psalter; even though the newer Gallican Psalter was widely used from Carolingian times, the Roman Psalter persisted in southern Italy.[7]

The fragment contains a trope for use with the introit for All Saints which appears to be unique.[8] This trope consists of four Latin hexameters, with cues for their interpolation in the performance of the introit *Gaudeamus*, as shown below with the full text of the introit written out in italics and the cues in small capitals (see plate 1; for a musical transcription of the trope, see Appendix 1).

Iunior atque senex, gradus omnis sexus uterque	*GAUDEAMUS omnes in domino*
Dentur manus plausum, dent lingue carmina laudum	*DIEM festum celebrantes sub honorem sanctorum omnium*
Quos aquilo zephirus genuit quos auster et eurus	*DE QUORUM sollemnitate gaudent angeli*
Et laudant patrem laudant spiramen et almum	*ET COLLAUDANT filium dei.*

The classicizing aspects of this trope point to the orbit of Montecassino. Though many tropes of southern Italian origin survive in tropers of Montecassino and Benevento, the regular use of hexameters is typical of the tropes of Montecassino, and the references here to the winds suggest an interest in classical literature typical of the Cassinese poets.[9] Although several sets of trope-verses for this introit survive in manuscripts from Benevento,[10] the only source

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[6] The third mass of Christmas (this mass also has a *versus ad repetendum* for the communion: both verses have been erased); Epiphany (erased); St. Benedict (not erased).

[7] The Roman Psalter is edited—based in part on two Cassinese manuscripts—in Robert Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, Collectanea biblica latina 10 (Rome, 1953); the Gallican Psalter is conveniently consulted in *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1975). On the various versions of the Psalter and their use as texts for chants, see Joseph Dyer, "Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984): 11–30; on the Roman Psalter in south Italian liturgical manuscripts, see *Paléographie musicale* 14 (Solesmes, 1931; rpt. Berne, 1971), 145–51.

[8] Surviving tropes from southern Italy are edited in *Beneventanum troporum corpus*, ed. John Boe and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 16–28 (Madison, 1989–). I am grateful to Professor Planchart for his confirmation of the uniqueness of this trope, and of its Cassinese aspect.

[9] On the literary style of Cassinese tropes, see Planchart, *Beneventanum troporum corpus I* 1:xv, xlv.

[10] Ibid. 1:25–28, 2:63–74.

from Montecassino is palimpsest at this point. The Cassinese troper Vatican, Urb. lat. 602 does contain a trope for All Saints, of which only a few initial letters are now visible on fols. 12v–13r. The opening letter *I*, along with a *D* beginning the second portion of the trope, suggest that the trope in Vatican, Urb. lat. 602 is *Iunior atque senex* as preserved in our fragment.[11]

The Lanciano fragment preserves the beginning of a unique mass for St. Amicus, who died in the middle of the eleventh century as a recluse at the monastery of San Pietro Avellana,[12] after having spent much of his life in a hermitage on the confines of the Marche and Abruzzo. A *vita* of St. Amicus was composed in San Pietro Avellana while those who knew the saint were still alive.[13] San Pietro was a foundation of St. Dominic of Sora; it was given to Montecassino in 1069,[14] and the Cassinese possession of the monastery provides the tenuous connection that allowed Montecassino to claim Amicus for her own.[15] The present comune of San Pietro Avellana is named for the site of the monastery.

Despite Montecassino's possession of the monastery and her pride in Amicus, the saint seems not to have had a liturgical celebration at Montecassino. Relevant Cassinese sources, admittedly few, do not give a proper mass for his feast on November 3;[16] the Cassinese "breviarium sive ordo officio-

[11] Ibid. 1:93. Professor Planchart in a private communication concurs in the identification of this Lanciano trope with the lost trope for All Saints in Urb. lat. 602.

[12] On this monastery and its relation to Montecassino, see Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), 1:362–64.

[13] The two surviving *vitae* of St. Amicus are edited by Charles De Smedt, *AA SS* Nov. 2 (Brussels, 1894), 92–99, with introduction on 89–92. De Smedt (90–91) attributes the longer *vita* to that "Bernardus Casinensis monachus" who, according to Peter the Deacon, "descripsit miracula sancti confessoris Christi Amici Casinensis monachi" (see Peter the Deacon, *De viris illustribus casinensibus* 37 [PL 173:1043B]); this life is edited from the fourteenth-century manuscript Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 34, pp. 156–192 (see M. Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, 3 vols. [Montecassino, 1915–41], 1:47); it was edited also, but with errors, in vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca casinense: Florilegium casinense* (Montecassino, 1874), 244–54. The shorter *vita*, later in date and divided into twelve liturgical lections, seems to be incomplete and derivative of the earlier one; it is edited by De Smedt after a transcription in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 8299, from a lectionary of Spoleto cathedral.

[14] Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 1:364.

[15] See the previous note. On Amicus, see Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Recherches sur les ermites du Mont-Cassin et l'érémitisme dans l'hagiographie cassinienne," *Hagiographica* 2 (1995): 57–92 at 79–80.

[16] These include the missal Vat. lat 6082 (see below); the missal Montecassino 540 (s. xi/xii) and the gradual Montecassino 546 (s. xii/xiii) do not contain this portion of the year (on Montecassino 546, see Thomas Forrest Kelly in *I fiori e' Frutti santi: S. Benedetto, la Regola, la santità nelle testimonianze dei manoscritti cassinesi*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo [Mi-

rum," which details the offices for days with proper material, gives nothing for his feast.[17] Calendars of Montecassino (where his name might indicate a mass drawn from the common) do not cite him,[18] though he is cited in Cassinese martyrologies.[19] An origin at Montecassino of the mass in our fragment seems unlikely, since no musical materials for Amicus are known in sources from Montecassino (nor from any place except the origin of this fragment, which appears from other liturgical evidence to be seen below not to be Cassinese).

The presence in our manuscript of a mass for St. Amicus suggests an origin at or near San Pietro Avellana. This was an important monastery which, at least in the thirteenth century, had an impressive library of liturgical and other manuscripts.[20] Eight antiphoners for the night office, seven for the day office, and sixteen psalters are listed in an inventory of 1271. The monastery also possessed "liber unus de vita Sancti Amici."[21] Curiously, the list makes no reference to a gradual, unless the "liber Missalis unus" is such a book.[22] No

lan, 1998], 163–64, with bibliography). For an overview of surviving sources of music for the Mass in southern Italy, see Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores.* Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1, 2d ed., 1 vol. in 2 (Freiburg, 1968), *pars prima,* 239–48, 250–54; see also the *Supplementum,* Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1a (Freiburg, 1988), 53–57.

[17] The mass would of course not appear in this ordinal for the Office, but the absence of his feast in this very Cassinese document is significant. The manuscripts containing this ordinal include five in the Montecassino tradition: Vatican, Urb. lat. 585 (ca. 1100); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 364 (ca. 1100); Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.ML.97 (formerly Montecassino 199, then Ludwig IX.1; ca. 1100); Montecassino 198 (s. XII/XIII); Montecassino 562 (s. XIII). Three further twelfth-century versions, based on the Montecassino ordinal, were made for churches in Benevento: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI E 43 (for a church dedicated to St. Mary); Vatican, Vat. lat. 4928 (Santa Sofia); Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 66 (St. Peter's *intra muros*). An edition of these sources is in preparation.

[18] A convenient list of Cassinese calendars is in Virginia Brown, "A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' Rediscovered," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 385–449 at 393–95. Of the calendars listed there I have examined those associated with the ordinal of Montecassino (Vat. lat. 4928 [Santa Sofia, Benevento, s. XII]; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI E 43 [Benevento, s. XI/XII]; Vatican, Urb. lat. 585 [Montecassino, s. XI/XII]; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.ML.97 [Montecassino, s. XI/XII]; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 364 [Montecassino, s. XI/XII]) and with liturgical books of relevant date related to Montecassino (Montecassino 127 [s. XIII]; Montecassino 540 [s. XI/XII]; Montecassino 546 [s. XII/XIII]; Vatican, Vat. lat. 6082 [s. XII]).

[19] De Smedt (see n. 13 above), 89.

[20] An inventory of 1271 is published in M. Inguanez, *Catalogi codicum casinensium antiqui (saec. VIII–XV),* Miscellanea cassinese 21 (Montecassino, 1941), 68–69 (Inguanez had previously published this list in 1931).

[21] Ibid., 69.

[22] This "liber Missalis" is probably not a sacramentary, since there is listed an "Ordo sacramentorum liber unus." It may of course be a missal. Perhaps the antiphoners for the day office ("Antiphonaria de die") included one or more graduals.

monastery of this importance would have been without a gradual, and our fragment is likely to have served the monastery where the cult of St. Amicus was strongest.

Half a century ago Mauro Inguanez surmised that the script used at San Pietro Avellana was that of Bari. This was based on two eleventh-century fragments gathered in the *compactiones* of Montecassino which had served as covers of documents from San Pietro Avellana: four folios of Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* and one folio from a homiliarium.[23] Inguanez also identified Montecassino, Archivio della Badia manuscript 465 (John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni,* also in Bari-type script of the eleventh century) with San Pietro Avellana on the basis of documents written on p. 322 of that codex which name the monastery.[24] This new fragment from Lanciano points to San Pietro Avellana through its mass for St. Amicus, and its script does contain some definite Bari-type features. Hence it does seem very probably that the Bari type of Beneventan script played a definite role at San Pietro Avellana at least during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this fragment is important as an early and almost certain witness of this.[25]

It is highly regrettable that the fragment includes only the first three words of the introit of St. Amicus; its words do not correspond with any text in either of the two lives of the saint. Its melody (perhaps in mode 1 or mode 6) does not seem to be an adaptation of a preexistent Gregorian introit-melody, and we can surmise that this mass was composed at Montecassino or at San Pietro Avellana in honor of the local saint. Although St. Amicus was evidently remembered in Cassinese martyrologies,[26] I know of no musical materials from Montecassino for the saint's mass or office.

Comparison with other manuscripts of music for the mass from southern Italy makes clear that the Lanciano fragment is closest in its liturgical usage to two sources. One of these is the twelfth-century missal Vat. lat. 6082, whose

[23] Mauro Inguanez, "Frammenti di codici abruzzesi," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati,* vol. 6, Studi e Testi 126 (Vatican City, 1946), 272–81 at 274–75. The fragments are now missing from the *compactiones,* according to information supplied by Virginia Brown, though Inguanez does provide facsimiles. Inguanez identified these fragments with items in the catalogue of S. Pietro mentioned above (n. 20). Although such volumes are named in the 1271 list ("Omelie quinque"; "moralia Iob libri tres" [Inguanez, *Catalogi codicum,* 69]), they are not cited as being in Beneventan, a distinction not made in that catalogue.

[24] Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus* 3:104–5, with a facsimile at Tab. 2.

[25] I am grateful to Virginia Brown for pointing out Inguanez's attributions of other manuscripts to San Pietro de Avellana.

[26] De Smedt (see n. 13 above), 89.

origin is generally cited as being Montecassino or the Cassinese orbit.[27] The other source closely related liturgically to our fragment is the "Breviarium de die qualiter missa debetur celebrari" written on a separate bifolium in a twelfth-century Beneventan hand and now bound as fols. 10–11v of London, British Library Egerton 3511.[28] This is a list of 156 masses, indicated by the incipits of their chants and lections; it is not a summary of the Beneventan missal in which it is now bound[29] but represents a somewhat different liturgical tradition, to which we can now relate the fragment under examination here.

A comparison with the manuscripts of Benevento indicates that the Lanciano fragment, while adhering to the the widespread tradition of Roman liturgy and "Gregorian" chant, varies in many details from the sources now at and related to Benevento, while it shares many of those same details with the two manuscripts just mentioned. A more detailed comparison of these manuscripts follows below. What it shows is that a liturgical tradition, typical of southern Italy but varying from the uses of Benevento and Montecassino, links the Lanciano fragments with the missal Vat. lat. 6082 and the "Breviarium de die." That usage, closely related to the practice of Montecassino, may be associated with the area around San Pietro Avellana, for which the Lanciano fragment seems to have been intended.

. In the material that follows, the masses of the Lanciano fragment are compared with those found in other south Italian manuscripts. These manuscripts, and their abbreviations, are as follows:[30]

B29   London, British Library Egerton 3511 (formerly Benevento 29). Missal, s. XII, of St. Peter's *intra muros,* Benevento.

B29br   London, British Library Egerton 3511 (formerly Benevento 29), fols. 10r–11v, "Breviarium de die qualiter missa debetur celebrari," s. XII.

B30   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 30. Notated missal, s. XIII.

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[27] See E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule,* vol. 2: *Hand List of Beneventan MSS.,* 2d edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown (Rome, 1980), 152 and the literature cited there.

[28] Formerly Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 29, a partially-notated missal of the twelfth century made for the convent of St. Peter's *intra muros* of Benevento (Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent* [hereafter Mallet-Thibaut], 3 vols. [vol. 1: Paris, 1984; vols. 2–3: Paris and Turnhout, 1997] 1:76–77; 2:137–45). This convent had close connections with Montecassino, to judge from their use of a late-twelfth-century ordinal copied from that of Montecassino, now Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 66 (see Mallet-Thibaut, 2:288–97).

[29] Mallet-Thibaut, 2:339 n 1.

[30] Detailed descriptions of all the manuscripts now or formerly at Benevento may be found in Mallet-Thibaut. On Vat. lat. 6082, see n. 27 above.

B33   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33. Notated missal, s. X/XI.
B34   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 34. Gradual with tropes, s. XII².
B35   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 35. Gradual with tropes, s. XII¹.
B38   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 38. Gradual with tropes, s. XI¹.
B39   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 39. Gradual with tropes, s. XI ex.
B40   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 40. Gradual with tropes, s. XI¹.
V6082   Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082. Notated
        missal, s. XII.

Simonis et Iude: All sources have this offertory, except B29br (which mentions only the introit); offertory verses are not used in B29, B30, and V6082. The communion is present in all sources (except B29br as above), though the verses are not present; V6082, which does use such verses, gives only an incipit for the communion; these verses do appear where V6082 gives the communion in full in the common of apostles).

Maximi: This mass is indicated in V6082 and B29br by giving incipits for the introit and communion as in our fragment (in V6082 full versions appear in the common of one martyr). The mass appears in none of the Benevento sources.

Germani: This mass is found in this form in V6082, B29br, and B29 (in all three cases the gradual is *Iuravit*). Only two further sources have liturgical material for this feast; B33 provides collects only; and B39 has a different introit (*Statuit*) and communion (*Beatus servus*), and adds a second gradual, *Inveni David.*

Vig. Omnium Sanctorum: Our fragment preserves the same mass as is found in V6082 and B29; there is nothing for this feast in B30, B33, B38, or B40. Other regional manuscripts have a variety of differences, as follows. In B35 and B39, the offertory is *Letamini in domino*. The communion is *Iustorum anime* in B39 and *Signa eos* both in B35 and as a second communion in B39.

Omnium Sanctorum: Our fragment preserves the same mass as is found in V6082; no mass is present in B29br; other regional manuscripts have a variety of differences. The introit verse is found in all manuscripts except B33, which has a different verse. The versus ad repetendum is found only here and in V6082. The gradual *Gloriosus* is found in B29, B35, V6082; elsewhere (B30, B34, B38, B39, B40) the gradual is *Iustorum anime*. The Alleluia *Iusti fulgebunt* is found only in B29 and V6082; other manuscripts have a variety of Alleluias (see Mallet-Thibaut, 2:639). The offertory *Letamini* is found only in B29 and V6082; other manuscripts (B30, B33, B34, B38, B39, B40) have *Exsultabunt sancti*. The communion is universal; the psalm-verse and *versus ad repetendum* are present in V6082.

Cecilie: The communion of our fragment is found in all the sources, except for B29br (which indicates only introit and gospel) and B30 (which does not contain this portion of the calendar). The communion is given in incipit in V6082, but the full version, with verses as here, is found in the common of virgins.

Clementis: The introit verse *Misericordias* is found only in V6082, B29br and B29; elsewhere (B34, B35, B38, B39, B40) the verse is *Domine exaudi*. The gradual *Iuravit* is found in V6082, B29, B29br, B40; elsewhere (B34, B35, B38, B39) the gradual is *Exaltent eum.* The Alleluia *Iustus germinabit* is found in V6082, B29, B29br; elsewhere the Alleluia is *Ora pro nobis* (B34, B35, B38, B39) or *Inveni David* (B40). The communion *Domine quinque* is found in V6082, B29, B29br; elsewhere (B34, B35, B38, B39, B40) the communion is *Beatus servus*.

Grisochoni: Most manuscripts of Benevento do not contain this mass; it is found in B29 and B29br, in which the only chant pieces are those named in our fragment; and in V6082, which in addition cues the other chant pieces.

Catherine: In V6082 and B29br this mass is given after that of St. Mercurius. V6082 has the two pieces given here (though their placement is confused in the manuscript); B29br cues the introit with the indication "per ordinem"; B29 gives only collects in a second hand. Other manuscripts do not have this mass.

Mercurii: B29br and V6082 give the same mass as our fragment; B29 gives a different mass, which has only the offertory in common (In. *Letabitur iustus.* Gr. *Posuisti domine.* Al. *Iustum deduxit.* Of. *Posuisti.* Co. *Posuisti.*); it also includes prayers and lections (owing to the fact that Mercurius is a significant saint at Benevento); other manuscripts omit this mass or do not contain this portion of the sanctoral.

Petri Alexandrini: B29br and V6082 give the mass as here; other manuscripts omit it or do not contain this portion of the sanctoral.

Vigilia Sancti Andree: The introit verse is given as *Celi enarrant* in V6082, and is confirmed by all sources (B29, B29br, B34, B38, B39, B40) except B35, which gives the verse *Domine probasti me*. The gradual *In omnem terram* is found only in V6082, B29 and B29br; elsewhere (B34, B35, B38, B39, B40) the gradual is *Nimis honorati sunt.* Several manuscripts (6082, B34, B38, B39, B40—but not B29 or B29br) give an Alleluia, *Nimis honorati*.

Saturnini et Sisinnii: Both V6082 and B29br indicate this mass, on the same day as the Vigil of Andrew, by indicating the introit *Iudicant sancti* (B29br also cues the communion *Quod dico*). This mass may well have been indicated also in our fragment, in a now-illegible portion.

Andree: Three manuscripts (B35, B39, B40) give a different Alleluia (*Sancte Andrea apostole*), while the others (B29, B29br, B34, B35, B38, B39, B40, V6082) agree with our fragment. All manuscripts give the communion psalm-verse; V6082 also indicated the *versus ad repetendum.*

Transcription.

The transcription that follows supplies, in angle brackets (⟨ ⟩), missing or illegible portions of text from other south Italian manuscripts. This missing text is in some cases hypothetical, and is designed to provide a context for the fragmentary nature of the surviving texts. Editorial explanations are given in square brackets ([ ]).

/// indicates a lacuna in the manuscript.
 * indicates a piece given only in incipit without musical notation. Such pieces presumably appeared elsewhere in the missal (sometimes the folio number is added), either in the common of saints or in an earlier mass; this is a standard practice.

[fol. Ar]

⟨**Sanctorum Simonis et Iude** [28 Oct.]⟩

⟨Of.⟩   In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre verba eorum [Ps 18:5].

  ⟨v.⟩   Celi enarrant gloriam dei et opera manuum eius annuntiat ⟨firma⟩men-
     tum [Ps 18:1].

  ⟨v.⟩   Dies diei eructuat verbum et nox ⟨nocti⟩ indicat scientiam [Ps 18:2].

⟨Co.⟩   Vos qui secuti estis me dicit dominus sedebitis super sedes iudicantes
     duodecim tribus Israhel alleluia alleluia.

  ⟨ps.⟩ Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me confortata est nec potero ad eam
     [Ps 138:6].

  ⟨R.⟩   Dinumerabo eos et super arenam multiplicabuntur [Ps 138:18]. All⟨e-
     luia⟩ [musical cue to the second *alleluia* of the communion].

⟨**Sancti Maximi** [30 Oct.]⟩

⟨In.⟩   Gloria et honore*

⟨Co.⟩   Posuisti domine*

⟨**Sancti Germani** [30 Oct.]⟩

⟨In.⟩   Sacerdotes dei*

     /// [hole]

⟨All.⟩ Tu es sacerdos*

⟨Of.⟩ Inveni David*

⟨Co.⟩ Fidelis servus*

/// [hole]

⟨Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum [31 Oct.]⟩

⟨Gr. Timete⟩ dominum*

Of. Exultabunt sancti*

Co. Dico autem vobis*

⟨ps.?⟩ Venite fili* [Ps 33:12?]

[fol. Av]

⟨Festivitate Omnium Sanctorum [1 Nov.]⟩

⟨Tropus⟩

> Iunior atque senex, gradus omnis sexus uterque. GAUDEAMUS
> Dentque manus plausum, dent lingue carmina laudum. DIEM
> Quos aquilo zephirus genuit quos auster et eurus. DE QUORUM
> Et laudant patrem laudant spiramen et almum. ET COLLAUDANT

⟨In.⟩ Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore sanctorum omnium, de quorum sollemnitate gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei.

ps. Gaudete iusti in. [Ps 32:1 (Roman Psalter)]

R. Confitemini domino in cythara, in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei. [Ps 32:2, Roman Psalter] De quorum.

Gr. Gloriosus.*

All. Iusti fulgebunt.*

Of. Letamini.*

Co. Iustorum anime*.

ps. Beata gens cuius est dominus deus eorum, populus quem elegit dominus in hereditatem sibi [Ps 32:12 (Roman Psalter)].

R. Ecce oculi domini super timentes eum sperantes autem in misericordia eius [Ps. 32:18 (Roman Psalter)].

Sancti Amici conf. [3 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩ Dum domini legem m/// [hole, 3–4 words to end of line]

/// [several folios missing]

[fol. Br]

[Sancte Cecilie (22 Nov.)]

⟨Co.   Confundantur⟩

⟨ps.⟩Veniunt mihi miserationes tue et vivam, quia lex tua meditatio mea est [Ps 118:77].

R.   Fiat domine [dom. omitted in Gallican and Roman psalters] cor meum immaculatum [Ps 118: 80]. In tuis [cue to communion *Confundantur*].

Sancti Clementis pape [23 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   Dicit dominus sermones mei quos dedi in hos [=os] tuum non deficient de ore tuo, adest enim nomen tuum. Et munera tua accepta erunt super altarem meum.

ps.   Misericordias tuas domine [Ps 88:1, Roman Psalter].

R.   Disposui testamentum electis meis iuravi David servo meo [Ps. 88:4]. Et munera.

Gr.   Iuravit dominus*

All.   Iustus germinabit*

Of.   Veritas mea.*

Co.   Domine quinque*

Sancti Grisochoni [24 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   In virtute tua* per ordinem.["xxxviii" added later above line]

All.   Gloria et honore*

Sancte Caterine [25 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   Me expectaverunt* ["xxxii" added later above line]

Co.   Simile est*

Sancti Mercurii [25 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   Iustus n⟨on⟩ c⟨onturbabitur⟩.*

Gr.   Iustus non.*

All.   Letabitur*

Of.   Posuisti*

Co.   Letabitur*

Sancti Petri Alexandri⟨ni⟩ [26 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   Gloria et*

Gr.   Iustus ut palma*

All.   Posuisti domine*

Off.   Desiderium*

Co.   Posuisti.*

Vigilia Sancti Andree [29 Nov.]

⟨In.⟩   Dominus secus mare galilee vidit duos fratres Petrum et Andream, et vocauit eos. Venite post me, faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum. Ps.

        [No text is given here, but the psalm-tone is written out; the incipit of the verse is given without notation on the next line. The following three elements are written one above the other, starting from the bottom.]

⟨ps.⟩Celi enarrant* [Ps 18: 1].

Gr.   In omnem terram*

Of.   Gloria et honore*

Co.   Dicit Andreas Simoni fratri suo

[fol. Bv]

invenimus messiam qui dicitur Christus, et addu⟨x⟩it eum ad Iesum.

⟨ps.⟩Dies diei eructat verbum, et nox nocti indicat scientiam [Ps 18: 2].

        [An illegible area to the right of the beginning of the Alleluia following, containing three short lines, may well have given an indication of the mass of SS. Saturninus and Sisinnius; it surely must have indicated at least the feast of St. Andrew, its introit and the introit verse.]

⟨Sancti Andree [30 Nov.]⟩

In.   Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt.

Gr.   Constitues eos.⟩

All.   Dilexit Andream dominus in odorem suavitatis.

Of.   Mihi autem nimis*

Co.   Venite post me, faciam vos piscatores hominum. At illi relictis retibus et navi secuti sunt dominum.

  ps.   Celi enarrant gloriam dei, et opera manuum eius annuntiat firmamentum [Ps 18:1].

  R.   In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre verba eorum [Ps 18:5]. At illi. [musical cue to communion].

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LUCERA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE, CINQUECENTINA 658

A single folio, almost complete, of a liturgical musical book, perhaps a combined antiphoner-gradual, of the eleventh century, including fragmentary remains of the Old Beneventan chant. The fragment was first discovered by Rosa Salvati of the University of Bari, and was brought to my attention by Virginia Brown. I am grateful to the Director of the Biblioteca comunale, Dottore Antonio Orsitto, and to Signor Michele Conte, for providing access to the fragment.

Description.

The fragment is now in two pieces from a single folio which was used to reinforce the binding of a book. This volume (Bede, *Commentarii in omni divi Pauli epistolas* [Venice: sub signo sancti Bernardini, 1543]) probably came to the library from one of the monastic libraries of the region of Lucera, according to the staff of the library.

The parchment leaf was wrapped around the inside of the spine, so that portions of the top and bottom of the leaf appear inside the inner and outer covers of the volume. Three slot-shaped holes were removed from the leaf to accommodate the cords of the binding and the leaf was subsequently cut in two, with the result that it now appears as two separate pieces each resembling a coarse four-toothed comb. One of these pieces is now detached from the binding; the other is still bound into the book, and thus a portion of its center is invisible (see plate 2 for a composite photograph of the pieces forming the verso).

Each piece measures about 55 mm. high by 150 mm. wide; almost nothing is lost between the two fragments, so that when they are reunited the leaf measures about 110×150 mm. There are eight systems of text and music visible; the full width of the writing area is visible, measuring about 130 mm.; each system occupies a vertical distance of about 14 mm. The original page probably had eleven such systems,[31] and would thus have had a writing area of ca. 130×154 mm.

Single bounding lines and base-lines for the script seem to have been ruled from the hair side, though they are now scarcely discernible. Perforations visible in the margins are related to the binding of the printed book and not to the manufacture of the manuscript.

The text is written in a dark brown ink, with a slightly lighter ink used for

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[31] This estimate is based on the supposition that the series of Lauds and Vespers antiphons would have include five antiphons for psalms and one for the Gospel canticle. See the transcription of the contents below, where two complete antiphons are probably missing at the bottom of the recto side.

the musical notation. Rubrics (only one is visible) may have been written in an orange ink, which is now faded to a color almost as dark as that of the text. The musical notation is written *in campo aperto,* using the space above the text with no guidelines; the *custos* appears at the ends of musical lines, but there are no clefs or colored lines to indicate specific pitches.

Surviving decoration consists of two large (two-line) decorated initials. They are relatively simple, outlined in brown ink, using rather wide vegetal patterns divided into sections colored with blue, orange, yellow, and reddish-violet. They seem consistent with a date in the earlier part of the eleventh century. Smaller initial letters include one (beginning the responsory *Virgo est electus*) outlined in brown and infilled with blue and orange; of two letters at the beginning of antiphons, one is touched with orange and one is not.

The script is quite small and resembles in general aspect the writing of other neumed manuscripts copied in the first half of the eleventh century (e.g., Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 40).[32] There is a noticeable inconsistency in the height of letters whether they consist solely of minims or involve a bow to which is attached an ascender or descender. The relatively large size of *e* is somewhat out or proportion to the other letters. When *e* is followed by *r,* the shoulder of the latter may be either straight or sloping. Final *s* usually rests on the base-line; at times the shaft may descend slightly below it. The headstroke of *t* in final position continues upwards to the right. Caudate *e,* i.e., *e* with ce-dilla, occurs in "c*ae*na" and "h*ae*c."

Contents.

The fragment shows a responsory, a series of antiphons, and an ingressa, all for the feast of St. John the Evangelist. The ingressa, a piece of the Old Bene-ventan repertory, has music and text which are otherwise unknown. The responsory and antiphons are well attested in manuscripts of the Gregorian tradition.

The arrangement of these pieces is in itself unusual. Were it not for the pres-ence of the ingressa, the fragment would appear to be a leaf from an antiphoner of the office. The responsory *Virgo est electus* that begins our fragment is not universally used and is not obviously the last responsory of Matins; but since almost all antiphoners of southern Italy group all the responsories of the night office in a single series rather than separating them by the antiphons for each nocturn, and since the antiphons that follow are sung at Lauds in the south-

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[32] This paragraph is based on the suggestions and descriptions of Virginia Brown. For a facsimile of Benevento 40, see *Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 40: Graduale,* ed. Nino Albarosa and Alberto Turco, Codices gregoriani 1 (Padua, 1991).

Italian tradition, we can presume that *Virgo est electus* is the last responsory of Matins.[33]

The fragment then presents a series of antiphons: though no rubric is visible, these are surely the antiphons for Lauds (and probably also for Vespers), and they are well attested in sources from southern Italy and elsewhere. However, this particular order of antiphons for Lauds or Vespers is found nowhere else in southern Italy (or elsewhere, so far as I am aware).[34] This manuscript represents a liturgical tradition not otherwise attested in the south.

So far so good. Next, in an antiphoner, should follow the music for the feast of the Holy Innocents.[35] Instead we have an ingressa, the opening chant of the mass in the Old Beneventan rite.

This ingressa is in itself an important addition to our knowledge, for it provides confirmation of a missing piece of the calendar of the Old Beneventan rite. Whereas the Beneventan masses preserved as doublets after their Gregorian counterparts in the eleventh-century graduals Benevento 38 and Benevento 40 provide music for most of the major feasts of the liturgical year, both manuscripts begin incomplete and thus deprive us of information about the practices in the Beneventan liturgy before the rites of Holy Week. This lacuna is partially filled by an eleventh-century fragment now the final flyleaf (fol. 202) of Benevento 35, which provides portions of masses of Christmas and St. Stephen.[36] A fragment at Bisceglie demonstrates the existence of Old Beneventan music for the Epiphany.[37] But we have no information about the Old

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[33] Though it is rare, this responsory is known in southern Italy, being found for St. John the Evangelist in Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 21. This manuscript is described in Mallet-Thibaut, 2:71–75; it is edited as manuscript L in R.-J. Hesbert. *Corpus antiphonalium officii* [CAO], 6 vols., Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7–12 (Rome, 1963–79). The responsory *Virgo est electus* appears in an appendix of materials added to Benevento 21, fol. 304v.

[34] The traditions of Montecassino (Montecassino 542 and the eight witnesses of the Montecassino-based ordinal) and Benevento (Benevento 19, 21, 22, 23, etc.) uniformly call for the psalm-antiphons *Valde honorandus, Hic est discipulus ille, Hic est discipulus meus, Sic eum volo,* and *Ecce puer meus,* the *Benedictus*-antiphon *Iste est Iohannes,* and the *Magnificat*-antiphon *Iste est discipulus.* Though our fragment is incomplete, it is clear that the two *His est discipulus* antiphons do not appear in south-Italian order. For the Beneventan tradition, see Mallet-Thibaut, 3:703–4 (including one witness, Benevento 66, of the Montecassino ordinal). For the tradition of other places, see CAO, vols. 1 and 2.

[35] The Holy Innocents material might be preceded by some indication, probably by brief cues, of the antiphons to be used at the little hours of the feast for St. John the Evangelist.

[36] A summary of the masses known from these three sources is found in Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), 66.

[37] See Thomas Forrest Kelly, "A Musical Fragment at Bisceglie Containing an Unknown Beneventan Office," *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 347–56.

Beneventan liturgy in the time between St. Stephen and the Epiphany (nor, for that matter, for the time of Advent and Lent). If a mass for St. Stephen was sung, it is easy to imagine that ones must have existed, as in the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies, also for the two following days, St. John the Evangelist and for the Holy Innocents. The present fragment helps to fill that gap, indicating the existence of a mass for St. John, even though it is tantalizingly incomplete.

The text of the ingressa does not seem to have been used in the Roman liturgy nor in the Milanese.[38] It is a nonscriptural text, apparently beginning with the word *Hodie* as do a number of other Old Beneventan texts. Its melody, fragmentary as it is, is indisputably Old Beneventan. The melody begins with a syllabic recitation on a podatus (like the ingressa for Maundy Thursday),[39] and the surviving notation gives clear indication of the presence of the many invariable musical formulae which characterize the Old Beneventan chant.[40] It is a great disappointment that the remainder of this mass is not present, for it would add considerably to the repertory of surviving pieces of Old Beneventan chant.[41]

The presence of this ingressa raises questions about the nature of the manuscript from which our fragment survives. Although the Old Beneventan chant was once contained in separate books, most of these have been lost, and the chief surviving witnesses are books—like our fragment—which insert part of the older repertory in the context of a musical manuscript of the Gregorian chant. Thus Benevento 38 and Benevento 40 are both Gregorian graduals

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[38] The presence of texts shared between the two "Lombard" liturgies, Beneventan and Ambrosian, has been remarked before. On musical and textual parallels between Milan and Benevento, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 181–203; see also idem, "Beneventan and Milanese Chant," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 112 (1987): 173–95, "Non-Gregorian Music in an Antiphoner of Benevento," *The Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987): 478–97, and *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York and Oxford, 1996), 208–11; and Terence Bailey, "Ambrosian Chant in Southern Italy," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 6 (1983): 1–7.

[39] Benevento 40, fols. 4v–5r, facsimiles in *Paléographie musicale* 21 (Solesmes, 1992), 165–66, and in color in *Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 40: Graduale* (see n. 32 above); transcription in *Paléographie musicale* 14:276. On this opening formula, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 100–104.

[40] On these formulae, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 97–108.

[41] It is possible that only the ingressa, and not the entire mass, was present in the manuscript. The flexibility of assignment of the further musical items in a mass, and the preservation (in the palimpsest Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 9) of a series of ingressae without their accompanying masses, suggest that ingressae may on occasion have been transmittied independently. See Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 80–84, 310–11; and idem, "Palimpsest Evidence of an Old-Beneventan Gradual," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 67 (1983): 5–23.

which preserve some twenty-one Old Beneventan masses by recording them as doublets after the Gregorian mass for the same feast. Elsewhere there are Old Beneventan offices which survive as doublet offices in Gregorian antiphoners.[42] But nowhere so far has there been discovered a Beneventan *mass* preserved in a Gregorian book for the Office. This fragment does so, and it raises questions about the larger contents of its parent manuscript.

Can we be sure that the ingressa whose fragmentary beginning is recorded here is the beginning of a whole mass? Nothing but the discovery of the next folio will make this certain. Generally, however, an ingressa is followed by at least an Alleluia, offertory, and communion. Nowhere is a Beneventan ingressa presented in another function than as the opening chant of the Mass. (It does not, for example, do double duty as a responsory or an antiphon, where it might be found in an antiphoner of the Office.)

Thus our fragment, in addition to recording Gregorian and Beneventan chant for the same feast, contains both music for the Office and music for the Mass. We can imagine that it might have presented the full day's music for each feast in each rite: first the Gregorian music, with the Mass chants inserted after the music for Lauds; and then the Beneventan, beginning with the Mass and perhaps continuing with Office music.[43]

This is not the way music-manuscripts are organized in the Gregorian tradition, which normally separates Mass and Office. But the Ambrosian tradition does organize its musical manuscripts in precisely this way,[44] and there is a strong Ambrosian connection with the Old Beneventan chant. The Beneventan chant indeed called itself "Ambrosian," and there are liturgical and musical reasons for positing a kinship between the two rites and their music.[45]

Moreover, there is evidence in southern Italy of liturgical books with music which combine Mass and Office in "Ambrosian" fashion. At Benevento there is

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[42] See the following note.

[43] Beneventan Office music is rare; what does survive is never more that a single office—called Vespers where it is labeled at all—for any feast; the offices consist of several antiphons, a responsory, and a concluding antiphon. Such offices survive for Good Friday, St. John the Baptist, and the Epiphany. On the Good Friday Vespers, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 55–58, esp. 56–57. Vespers for St. John the Baptist survives in the privately-owned "Solesmes Fragment"; see idem, "Une nouvelle source pour l'office vieux-bénéventain," *Études grégoriennes* 22 (1988): 5–23 with facsimile; facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 21, plates 300–301. Office music for the Epiphany in a privately owned fragment is discussed in Kelly, "Musical Fragment at Bisceglie"; facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 21, plates 222–23.

[44] See Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 184. For a survey of surviving books of the Ambrosian liturgy, see Michel Huglo, Luigi Agustoni, Eugène Cardine, and Ernesto Moneta Caglio, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Archivio ambrosiano 7 (Milan, 1956).

[45] See n. 38 above.

a pair of volumes which contain music for the Mass and the Office, divided into two volumes at Easter; these are MSS 19 and 20,[46] and they suggest that the "Ambrosian" type of chant-book is not unknown in the south. A twelfth-century fragment now in the Vatican, containing texts and music from Mass and Office of the time after Epiphany, may be further evidence of this kind of book.[47] Neither of these south Italian examples, however, gives any evidence of wishing to transmit both the Gregorian and the Old Beneventan repertories together in a single series; they are books of the Gregorian tradition.

Our fragment might possibly be extracted from a volume—more likely a set of volumes—incorporating in a single series the music for Office and Mass in the two Latin liturgical rites practiced in eleventh-century southern Italy. Such a compendium would be bulky, but the discovery of further portions of it would be of enormous historical and musical value.

Transcription.

Missing or illegible text supplied from other south Italian manuscripts are in angle brackets (⟨ ⟩). Editorial explanations are in square brackets ([ ]).

| indicates the end of a line in the manuscript.
‖ indicates the joint between pieces.

<div align="center">[recto]</div>

R. Virgo est electus a domino atque inter ceteros | magis di⟨lect⟩us qui supra ⟨pectus eius recum⟩bens | evangelii ⟨flu⟩enta de ips⟨o sacr⟩o dominici ⟨pecto⟩ris | fonte pota⟨vit et⟩ verbi dei ⟨gratiam in toto ter⟩rarum ‖ orbe diff⟨fu⟩dit. V. S⟨piritus sancti grati⟩a debriatus alti⟨us divini⟩tatis | patef⟨ecit arca⟩num. De ipso. | CAO 790

a. Va⟨lde h⟩onorandus est b⟨eat⟩us Iohannes qu⟨i sup⟩ra pectus | domini in cena recubuit. euouae.   CAO 530

a. Hic est discipulus ⟨meus sic eum volo manere donec veniam. euouae.⟩   CAO 305
    [two further antiphons?]

⟨a. Hic⟩   CAO 305

<div align="center">[verso]</div>

est discipulus ille qui testimonium perhibet de his et scripsit hec et scimus | quia veru⟨m est⟩ testimonium ei⟨us. euouae.⟩

a. Iste e⟨st disc⟩ipulus qui | dignus f⟨uit esse⟩ inter secret⟨a de⟩i ipse solus   CAO 342

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[46] Mallet-Thibaut, 2:61–70.
[47] Vat. lat. 10645 (a collection of fragments), fol. 63.

meru⟨it di⟩vina inspira|tione ⟨dice⟩re: in princi⟨pio⟩ erat verbum ⟨et ver-
bum⟩ erat apud ‖ deum ⟨et deus⟩ erat verbum. hoc ⟨erat⟩ in principio
⟨apud deum. euouae.⟩

Item Ingressa.

H⟨odi?⟩e beatus Io⟨hannes⟩ . . . meruit | ⟨a?⟩ domino de⟨le?⟩gi sic eum
⟨volo manere donec?⟩ | veni⟨am⟩ quia preparatum est ⟨. . .⟩ gaudium |
⟨. . .⟩

PENNE, ARCHIVIO STORICO DELL'ARCHIDIOCESI DI PESCARA-PENNE

Fragments of four leaves from a twelfth-century gradual with tropes and se-
quences. There are fragmentary remains of an Old Beneventan mass for the
feast of the Purification. I am grateful for the generosity and hospitality of the
Archivista, don Giuseppe Di Bartolomeo.

Description.

Twelve vertical strips of parchment were used to strengthen the binding of a
volume of notarial records dating between 1417 and 1575 labeled "Volume
cartaceo manoscritto relativo al Capitolo de Penne." Along with other manu-
script fragments, these were removed and restored at the Soprintendenza Archi-
vistica per l'Abruzzo e Molise. Some of the strips have been joined together,
evidently by the restorer, to form larger portions of the original folios. The
resulting restored fragments (each of one or more strips) have been given num-
bers and the indications "recto" and "verso" in pencil on the fragments. These
numbers are not related to the ordering of folios in the original manuscript.

The fragments from this manuscripts are those numbered 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.
They form portions of four leaves which, arranged in the order in which they
appeared in the original manuscript, can be described as follows:

Leaf A = fragment 6: one strip, ca. 285×45 mm., the recto side in the manu-
script here labeled as verso.

Leaf B = fragment 9: two strips joined, ca. 288×37 mm., representing the
inner half of its folio.

Leaf C = fragments 10 and 7: fragment 7, ca. 285×43 mm., is one strip, the
innermost of the folio; fragment 10 consists of the outermost two
strips of the same folio, ca. 289×48 and 287×42 mm. A very small
portion of the writing area is missing between fragments 7 and 10.
The recto side of the folio is fragments 10v+7r; the verso is 10r+7v.

Leaf D = fragment 8: four strips, which provide almost the full written surface
of the original folio, measuring about 286×144 mm.

The leaves of the original manuscript must have had outside dimensions
roughly 290×145 mm., with a writing surface of about 235×125 mm. Folios
are ruled on the flesh side with double bounding lines at right and left (those on
the left are clearly visible on fragment 9v, those on the right on fragment 8v).
The first line at the left is used to place the clef, the second to begin the text,
though this second line is often disregarded; text and music often violate the
boundaries on the right. Equally spaced drypoint lines are ruled to receive text

and music; four lines are used for each system of text and music, the lowest for the text, and the three lines above it as a musical staff; each system of four lines is 18 mm. high. There are fourteen long lines of text and music per page.

Brown ink is used for the writing of text and music. The musical notation was written in a separate campaign; its ink appears darker than that of the text on leaf C, and lighter on leaf A. Orange ink is used for rubrics and decorated initial letters.

Decoration consists of large letters for the introits of masses, evidently to mark the beginning of the music for each feast. Two such letters survive (for *Gaudeamus,* leaf A verso, and *Spiritus domini,* leaf D recto), each the height of two systems of text and music. The letters are drawn rather roughly in outline in orange ink; the *G* has interlaces and vegetable motifs; the *S,* divided into panels, has a bulbous shape at its top that may have been intended as an animal or human head. One initial, beginning the sequence *Advenit spiritus sanctus,* is the height of a single text-system, outlined in black and filled in with orange. Smaller letters (for the beginnings of liturgical chants other than introits) are the size of normal capitals but are highlighted with orange ink. Orange is also used for rubrics and to highlight letters of the internal lines of sequences and internal portions of liturgical chants (psalm, verse).

Like the script of the Lanciano bifolium discussed above, the small and well-formed script of the Penne strips was influenced by both the Montecassino and the Bari types of Beneventan.[48] Here the Bari type exerted the stronger force: this is evident in the generally broad aspect of the writing, slight leftward lean, roundness of the bows of letters like *d* and *q,* and usually straight shoulder of *r* in ligature (the *ri* ligature is the obvious exception) or connecting with a following letter; the rubric *Ingressa* at the beginning of the feast of the Purification has an especially Bari-type look. Montecassino practice is reflected in the long shafts of *f* and *s* descending below the base-line and also in the use of straight *i* in ligature (although an occasional moderate swing to the left can sometimes be detected). The frequently pronounced length of straight *i* in ligature is remarkable in a neumed manuscript since descenders are usually only moderately long so as to avoid confusion with the subsequent notation. Another distinctive letter is the assibilated *ti*-ligature. Here the two curves representing the stem and cross-stroke of *t* are arranged in an almost horizontal position. As in other neumed manuscripts, the scribe permits himself abbreviations only in those places, like sequences, where the music is syllabic.

Musical notation is typical of Beneventan hands of the twelfth century. Clefs for F and C are used at the beginnings of musical lines; a red line indicating the position of F is used throughout where appropriate to the range of the music. A

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[48] This paragraph is based on the suggestions and descriptions of Virginia Brown.

custos resembling a check-mark is used at the ends of lines to indicate the pitch of the first note of the next line, and is used occasionally elsewhere when a change of pitch-level is desired. The quilisma, which disappears from most Beneventan notations at the end of the eleventh century, is not used here.

These leaves are individual folios from four different locations in the same manuscript. The distance between the contents of leaves A and B in other surviving south Italian manuscripts is at least eighty folios; between C and D about ten folios. Although leaves B and C were near each other in the manuscript (their contents are one, two or three folios apart in other sources), they are not halves of a single bifolium, since the recto of each is the hair side of the parchment. It is conceivable, however, that leaves C and D formed a single bifolium with the hair side out; if so, they will have been probably the outermost bifolium in an unusually large quire.

It appears, though, that the manuscript must have been disassembled before being cut into strips. Strips from a bound manuscript might be expected to be taken from successive folios, or from the outer edges of available folios.[49] The result is that we have a selection from various places in the manuscript. It is to be hoped that further fragments (or folios, or quires!) of this very interesting manuscript may be recovered in the future.

Contents.

The contents of these fragments, with one exception, consist of musical materials known in southern Italy from the manuscripts of Benevento and Montecassino: liturgical chants from the Roman-Frankish "Gregorian" repertory for the Purification and St. Agatha (leaf A), the Invention of St. Michael and St. Gurdianus (leaf B), the dedication of a church (leaf C), and the vigil and feast of Pentecost (leaf D). There are sequences for Agatha, St. Michael, the Dedication of a Church; a widely known trope for Pentecost; and a prosula known also at Benevento. These materials will be considered in a moment.

The exceptional material is the fragmentary evidence of a mass in Old Beneventan chant for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. It is regrettable that we have only tiny fragments of this mass, but they are enough to provide further information about the shape of the Old Beneventan liturgy. Whereas there is surviving music in Old Beneventan style for the feast of the Purification among the antiphons for the procession and the blessing of candles, these are preserved in the repertory of Gregorian chants, and are thus not consciously transmitted as Beneventan.[50]

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[49] Such a case is Benevento 40, which has many portions of blank outer margins cut away, evidently for re-use of the blank parchment.

[50] Two antiphons, *Lumen ad revelationem* and *Congregamini omnes,* are preserved on a

Except for the feast of St. John the Evangelist (see above in the discussion of the Lucera fragments), the surviving sources of the Old Beneventan chant give no evidence for masses between St. Stephen and Palm Sunday. There may have been a mass for the Purification among the many Old Beneventan masses preserved alongside their Gregorian counterparts in Benevento 38 and Benevento 40, but those portions of both manuscripts are now lacking. Thus the presence of this mass for the Purification in the Penne fragments, incomplete as it is, provides us with further liturgical information about the Old Beneventan liturgy.

The surviving music and text are unfortunately very incomplete. The rubric *Ingressa* is written in the right margin, even thought the ingressa itself begins at the beginning of the next line. We cannot be sure how large the ingressa's initial letter was, since the left portion of the page is missing; but the presence of the rubric to the right suggests that the Beneventan mass was considered part of the music for the feast of the Purification and not an entirely separate unit deserving a new beginning. This is how the Beneventan masses are presented in Benevento 38 and Benevento 40: the largest initials are for the beginning of a feast day (thus for the introit of that day); and the Beneventan mass which follows the Gregorian mass begins with a smaller initial.

The mass appears to consist of an ingressa and two further pieces, probably an offertory and a communion. Curiously, the ingressa never received musical notation. Small portions of three lines of text are visible (see plate 3):

-cepit virgo
-hel quod est
-is (*or* -us) misericor-

These do not correspond to any liturgical text known to me from the Roman or Milanese liturgies, though some texts include one or another of these excerpts.[51] The presence of nonscriptural composed texts for the ingressae of the

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flyleaf from an eleventh-century gradual in Beneventan script in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2551 (the second antiphon is palimpsest) and in the early twelfth-century gradual Benevento 35; the second antiphon is found also in the twelfth-century Sora processional Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 334. See Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 265, 279; facsimiles in *Paléographie musicale* 21, plates 225, 95, 311.

[51] The words "concepit virgo" appear, for example, in the responsories *Adorna thalamum* (CAO 6051) and *Videte miraculum* (CAO 7869), and in two Ambrosian responsories *Adorna thalamum* and *Senex puerum* (*Paléographie musicale* 6 [Solesmes, 1900; rpt. Berne, 1972], 149), but none of those texts includes any of the other portions of the ingressa. The second portion of text, "-hel quod est," may refer to Simeon's prophecy, "et gloria plebis tuae Israhel," but this configuration of words is unknown to me. The third portion, "-is (*or* -us) misericor-" can be found in the *Magnificat* antiphon "Qui fecit in me magna potens est, recordatus Dominus misericordiae suae" (CAO 4471).

Beneventan liturgy is no surprise,[52] and this ingressa is doubtless a paraphrase relating to Mary's virginity, the prophesy of Simeon, and the Song of Mary.

The second item in this Beneventan mass appears to be neither a gradual nor an Alleluia. Old-Beneventan graduals are rare in mixed Gregorian-Beneventan sources;[53] moreover, such a piece would have a substantial verse, not present here. An Alleluia would begin with a long melisma on the opening word, and would most likely be set to one of two melodies generally used in the Old Beneventan liturgy for this function. Even though the opening word with an abbreviated melisma might have appeared in the lost portion, the melody here does not correspond to any known melody for Alleluia in the Old Beneventan liturgy.

It appears, then, that the next piece is an offertory. In the Beneventan liturgy these are relatively simple antiphons without verses, similar in style to the Beneventan communions. The text of this piece is fragmentary, but it corresponds to the text *Senex puerum portabat* used in the Milanese liturgy as a psalmellus.[54] Although the Milanese melody is not that of the Penne fragments, the two liturgies share many liturgical texts.

The third and last item in the mass is presumably a communion. Its text, admittedly fragmentary, corresponds to the *Magnificat* antiphon *O dei genitrix* found, so far as I know, only in Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 21.[55] In Benevento 21 the text is set to the melody of the well-known "O-antiphons" of Advent, whereas in the Penne fragments the same text appears in the context of a mass with a clearly Old Beneventan melody. It is easy to imagine that the antiphon may be a reworking of a text from the Old Beneventan liturgy, whose original is now partially recoverable in this fragment. The text is not known elsewhere with either melody, but there is evidence, in Benevento 21 and elsewhere, of Old Beneventan communions being preserved in Gregorian manuscripts as antiphons.[56] Although the Penne fragment preserves only a tiny

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[52] See Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 73–74.

[53] See ibid., 75.

[54] A version of this piece may be consulted in London, British Library Add. 34209, p. 130 (facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 5 [Solesmes, 1896]; transcription in *Paléographie musicale* 6:149); A slightly longer Milanese text is a responsory (on p. 131 in Add. 34209; transcription in *Paléographie musicale* 6:149), which also includes the fragmentary text from Penne.

[55] CAO 4022.

[56] Benevento 21, fol. 236 presents for the Holy Twelve Brothers of Benevento the *Magnificat* antiphon *Hos duodecim*, which is also used in Benevento 40, fol. 122, as the communion of the Old Beneventan mass. The Old Beneventan communion *Inter natos* of John the Baptist is found as a *Magnificat* antiphon in the so-called "Solesmes flyleaves" (see Kelly, "Une nouvelle source pour l'office vieux-bénéventain," facsimile, p. 6, and pp. 9, 10, 20, 23); the Old Beneventan communion *Sancta Maria exora*, for the Assumption, is found as an

portion of this text, it seems a reasonable supposition that the text as a whole is that preserved also in Benevento 21.[57]

The remaining contents of these leaves are what one might expect to find in a complete gradual-troper-sequentiary from southern Italy. As in other such manuscripts, tropes and sequences are integrated into the calendar rather than being gathered into separate sections of the manuscript, and the offertories are provided with verses. There is no evidence of psalmody for the communions.[58]

The repertory of tropes is this manuscript is unfortunately difficult to determine, since we have only one surviving example, a trope for Pentecost (see plate 4). With one exception there is no place in the surviving fragments where a trope is clearly absent; we do not have the beginning of the mass of the Invention of St. Michael or that of the Dedication, which might well have had tropes. The exception is the mass of St. Agatha, for which a trope is provided in Benevento 35; that trope, however, is unique among all the south Italian sources of tropes, and was likely a late (and somewhat corrupt) importation to the region.[59] The trope *Spiritus sanctus descendit* for Pentecost is found also in Benevento 34, 38, and 40, and different versions of it are found Benevento 35 and 39. These trope elements are importations from a widespread tradition.[60]

The use of prosulae for Alleluias is frequent in south Italian manuscripts, and one is found here as well. The Alleluia *Dum complerentur* for Pentecost provides a syllabic addition for the long melisma in the middle of the verse. This prosula is found also in Benevento 34, 35, 38 (added in a second hand), 39, and 40.[61]

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antiphon in the fragment now Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library ff 2MS A2M2 1000:6 (facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 21, pl. 221). In a related penomenon, a group of Old Beneventan communions is found together as antiphons for the weekly *mandatum* ceremony in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 145; the difference in this latter case is that, whereas the pieces are used both as communions and as antiphons, they are transmitted in the Ottoboni manuscript as being Old Beneventan music, whereas in the cases of Benevento 21 and the Berkeley fragment, the Old Beneventan communions are presented as antiphons in a Gregorian context. On the Ottoboni manuscript, see John Boe, "A New Source for Old Beneventan Chant: The Santa Sophia Maundy in MS Ottoboni lat. 145," *Acta Musicologica* 52 (1980): 122–33.

[57] The text is relatively long, and its continuation occupied not only the first line of folio Av, but also much of its second line (which begins with only the first three syllables of the Introit *Gaudeamus,* placed to the right so that the initial G could extend into the left margin.

[58] The ends of two communions are clearly visible (*Ultimo* for the vigil of Pentecost and *Benedicite* for the Invention of St. Michael), and neither has either a verse or a psalmodic ending attached.

[59] See Planchart, *Beneventanum troporum corpus I* 1:26 (trope 24).

[60] See ibid. 1:66–67 (trope 71).

[61] See Mallet-Thibaut, 2:500; the text is edited from Benevento 34 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 776 in Olof Marcusson, *Prosules de la messe 1: Tropes de*

Five sequences are present in these fragments, though none of them is complete. They are sequences generally found in southern Italy, and are representative of the repertory of sequences as known from the five gradual-tropers now at Benevento. These sequences are indicated in the table below.

SEQUENCES IN THE PENNE FRAGMENTS

The table refers to the following:

Lance Brunner, "Catalogo delle sequenze in manoscritti di origine italiana anteriori al 1200," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 20 (1985): 191–276;

Mallet-Thibaut (see n. 1); page numbers are those of the index in volume 3, which refers to the various manuscripts in which the sequences appear;

Analecta hymnica medii aevi [AH], ed. Guido Marie Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry Marriott Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922).

Incipit	Feast	Benevento MSS	Brunner	Mallet-Thibaut	AH
Eia organica	St. Agatha	35	228	3:1101	37:97
Rex nostras	Inv. St. Michael	38 39 40	258	3:1196	37:61
Ad templi . . . supra	Dedication	34 35 38 39 40	209	3:1041	53:402
Ad templi . . . fundata	Dedication	35 38 39 40	208	3:1041	7:243; 53:402
Advenit spiritus	Pentecost	34 35 38* 39 40	209	3:1043	37:34

* erased

With the exception of *Rex nostras,* which appears to be of West Frankish origin,[62] the sequences are of Italian origin. The two sequences beginning *Ad templi huius limina* are set to the same melody, and use much of the same language. They are often transmitted together in the Beneventan manuscripts, although the version *Ad templi . . . supra* is much less widespread in Italy than its sister, being found only in the manuscripts of Benevento and in the Penne fragments.

The liturgical materials from the Roman-Gregorian repertory in the Penne fragments are all familiar from their regular use in southern Italy and elsewhere. Appendix 2 shows the corresponding portions of the liturgical year from

l'alleluia, Corpus troporum II, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 22 (Stockholm, 1976). Marcusson's edition did not take other Beneventan manuscripts into account.

[62] See Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley, 1977), 12, 178–81, 438.

other south Italian manuscripts; it will be seen that the manuscript from which these fragments come does not exactly reproduce the repertory of any surviving manuscript.

Benevento 35 is closest in content to Penne, though it has a trope for Agatha not used here. It is the only manuscript to have the tract *Diffusa* for the Purification (although it includes it as an alternative); and it is the only manuscript with both of Penne's Alleluias for Pentecost (though they are in reverse order in a group of five Alleluias).

Transcription.

Missing or illegible text supplied from other south Italian manuscripts are in angle brackets (⟨ ⟩). Editorial insertions and comments are in square brackets ([ ]). * indicates a piece given only in incipit without musical notation.

For leaf A, the transcription is arranged so as to show the surviving text line by line. The other leaves have been transcribed so as to show the structure of their contents, with line breaks shown by a vertical mark (|).

[Leaf A recto = fragment 6v (hair side)]

⟨**Purificatione beate Marie virginis**⟩

⟨Tr. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea
        benedixit te deus in eternum.⟩
            ⟨v. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende⟩   et prospere proce-
            ⟨de et regna. v. Propter veri-⟩   tatem et man-
            ⟨suetudinem et iustitiam et educes te⟩   mirabiliter dex-
            ⟨tera tua. v. Audi fili-⟩   a et vide et in-
            ⟨clina aurem tuam quia concupivit⟩   rex speciem tu-
            ⟨am.⟩

⟨Co. Responsum acce-⟩   pit Symeon
        ⟨a spiritu sancto; non visurum se mortem, nisi videret⟩ christum dominum.
                                                                      INGRES.
            ⟨. . .⟩   cepit virgo
            ⟨. . .⟩   hel quod est
            ⟨. . .⟩   is misericor-
            ⟨. . .⟩

⟨Of.? Senex puerum portabat,⟩   puer autem
        ⟨senem regebat, quem virgo concepit et pos-⟩   t par-
        ⟨tum quem genuit⟩   adoravit.

⟨Co.? O dei genitrix virgo ave gratia plena; ex te enim ort-⟩us est sol

[verso = fragment 6r (flesh side)]

iustitie quem Sym ⟨-eon vidit, exclamavit dicens:
Nunc dimittis, domine, servum tuum in pace.⟩

⟨**In sancte Agathe**⟩

⟨In.⟩ Gaudeamus om ⟨-nes in⟩
domino di ⟨-em festum celebrantes sub honore Agathe⟩
martires de cuius ⟨passione gaudent angeli et collaudant filium⟩
dei.

ps. Eructav ⟨-it cor meum [Ps 44:2].⟩

⟨Gr.⟩ ⟨Adjuvavit eam deus vultu⟩
suo de ⟨-us in medio eius non commovebitur.⟩

v. F ⟨-luminis impetus⟩
letificat civ ⟨-itatem dei, sanctifica-⟩
vit taverna ⟨-culum suum altissimum.⟩

Alleluia. ⟨v. Mens mea so-⟩
lidata est et ⟨Christo domino in eter-⟩
num fundat ⟨-a permanet.⟩

⟨Seq. ⟩
⟨Eia organica cantica.⟩
Armonica c ⟨-uncta genera ydropica musica dulcisona clan-⟩
gant alle ⟨-luia . . .⟩.[63]

[Leaf B = recto: fragment 9r (hair side)]

⟨**Inventione sancti Michaelis**⟩

⟨Seq.⟩[64]
⟨Rex nostra Christe laudes vultu nunc sereno sumito
Impius ne nobis hostis ut optat noceat.
Pectoras et casta spiritus almis conservet.
Tu princeps populum pastorum hunc petre serva benigne.
Laxando cui datum est nexus celo terraque solvere.
Gressus que per cerulas vo⟩visti magistro presul ⟨tuo.⟩
Optenti | ⟨iam pondere mereamur iniqui⟩ effice.
Ave Maria ⟨vi⟩rgo virginum | ⟨valde colenda.
Facta fulgida⟩ lucis omnia porta creantis nosque | ⟨redimentis potenter.
Et nostri mem⟩or esto poscimus talia presta.
Exuti | ⟨rebus inde corporis carminis no⟩vo odax revocantis ovanter.

[63] As in Benevento 35, fol. 20r; AH 37:97.
[64] Supplied here from Benevento 40, fols. 59v–60r.

Nam | ⟨Michahelis sunt suffragiam ma⟩gna nobis requirenda per evum.

Spiritus hac | ⟨hominis Christo famulantis in ar⟩ce polorum beate.

Pulsis iam torporibus | ⟨Christe sancte te poscimus hostem fugacem⟩ vin-
cere posse dato desuper triumpho. |

⟨Debellans insidiantis maligni⟩ molimina dyra potenter protege clemens |
⟨tibi famulantes in evum.

Hiesu ter⟩ge cura medicinali vulnera adu- | ⟨nate plebis.

Pellens nubila tibi sup⟩plicantum atque canentum tuos | ⟨gloriosos trium-
phos.

Nunc gloria pa⟩tri natoque et spiritui almo sit per cunc- | ⟨ta secula. Amen.⟩

⟨Of. Stetit⟩ angelus iusta aram tem- | ⟨pli habens thuribulum au⟩reum in manu
sua et da-

[verso = fragment 9v (flesh side)]

ta sunt ⟨ei⟩ incensa multa e⟨t ascendit fu-⟩ | mus aromatum in conspect⟨u
dei alleluia. ⟩

⟨v. In con-⟩ | spectu a⟨ngelorum psallam tibi domine⟩ | et adorabo ad tem-
plum sanct⟨um tuum et confitebor tibi domine.⟩ |

Co. Benedicite omnes angeli domini d⟨omino; hymnum dicite et superexal-⟩ |
tate eum in secula.

Sancti Gurdiani ⟨Cyrilli et Petri[?]⟩

⟨In. Sancti tui domine*[?]⟩

⟨Gr. Justorum anime⟩ | in manu dei sunt et n⟨on tanget illos⟩ tormentum malitie.

   v. Visi su⟨nt oculis insipi-⟩ | entium mori illi autem ⟨sunt in pace.

⟨Alleluia. v. Sancti tui domine*?⟩ |

Of. Mirabilis deus in sancti su⟨is deus Israhel ipse dabit vir-⟩ | tute et forti-
tudinem pleb⟨i sue. Benedictus de-⟩ | us alleluia.

   v. E⟨xurgat deus et dissipen-⟩ | tur inimici eius et fugian⟨t qui oderunt a
faci-⟩ | e eius.

   v. Pereant pecc⟨atores⟩ ////

[Leaf C recto = fragments 10v/7v (hair side)]

⟨In dedicatione ecclesie⟩

⟨Seq.⟩[65]

   ⟨Ad templi huius limina dedicata
   gaudiorum laudes ovans pleps concrepent devota.

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[65] As in Benevento 35, fol. 105–105v, with emendations from Benevento 40, fol. 64v;
edited in AH 7:242–43 (no. 222).

Hodierna die qua adest festum annuum.

Supra cacumina montium fundata enim est domus ista.

Et exaltata est super omnes colles structura deifica.

Ex auro mundo circumtecta [-texta?] gemmis et rutilat muri per ampla.

Ubi adorant sanctam trinitatem populus omnes individuam.

Hec est enim illa celestis aula et angelorum patria.

Ecclesia firmaque petra dicta eternaque est regia.

Ex vivisque petris pacis visio urbs celsa Hierusalem etenim struitur bea-
torum agmina.⟩

Qua deus quoque ⟨rex sum⟩mus super omnes unus ce⟨lsior⟩ in throno
presi|de illo cui semper l⟨aus.⟩

Maiestate et virtu⟨te et⟩ angelorum sanc|ta agmina.

Inde⟨fessa(s)⟩ voce laudes personant⟨ur [*Benevento 35:* persolvatas] ce-⟩
litus gloria.|

Adorandus me⟨tuen⟩dus est namque locus ⟨ubi a⟩dorandus atque | col-
laudandus ⟨ide⟩m deus imperat cel⟨um et ⟩terra.

Beati sunt | qui habitant er⟨go in⟩ domo domini quia ab ⟨alto⟩ laudant regi
mag|no personantur ⟨celi⟩tus gloria.

Adonay ⟨bene⟩dicte sapientie | claritas.

Fac ⟨nos⟩ ga[u]dere in evum in au⟨la s⟩ancta tua in seculorum | secula.
Amen.

Seq.[66]

Ad templi huiu⟨s l⟩imina dedicata

ga|udiorum laude⟨s ov⟩ans plebs devota con⟨cre⟩pent.

Hodierna | ⟨die quia⟩ adest festa annuata.

Fun⟨d⟩ata enim est domus | ista supra cacumina montium.

Et exaltata est supra om⟨nes⟩ | colles structura ⟨deifica [? illegible]⟩.

⟨Nam hec est magna Hierusalem civitas scilicet illa superna.⟩[67]

Ex auro mundo circumcontex|ta gemmis⟨que rut⟩ilans muri per ampla.

⟨Ubi adorant⟩[68]

[verso = fragments 7r/10r (flesh side)]

sancta[m] trini⟨tatem⟩ populus omnes ind⟨ividu⟩am.

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[66] As in Benevento 35, fols. 105v–106v, with emendations from Benevento 40, fol. 65r–66r; edited in AH 7:243–44 (no. 223); cf. AH 53:402–4 (no. 249); transcribed from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1741 in Lance W. Brunner, *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola. Part IV: Sequences,* Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 33 (Madison, 1999), lxv–lxvi, 69–71 (no. 35).

[67] This line, usually present, is omitted in the Penne fragment.

[68] This line, not present in the sources cited in n. 66 above, is completed from the preceding sequence.

Hec est illa | celestis aula ⟨ange⟩lorum patria.

Eccles⟨ia fir⟩maque petra eter|naque regia.

⟨Dictaque est pacis visio urbs celsa Hierusalem.⟩[69]

E⟨x v⟩ivisque petris struit⟨ur be⟩atorum agmina.|

Qua deus quoque ⟨summ⟩us rex super omnes u⟨nus c⟩elsiori in thro|no preside illo

⟨Sunt m⟩aiestates ⟨choros virtutes atque praestant⟩ angelorum sanctam | agmina.

Inde⟨fess⟩a voce laudes per- ⟨. . . [*Benevento 35:* persultant; *Benevento 40:* persultat]⟩ celitus.

Gloria[70] ⟨et regnum illi per secla depromunt.

Venerandus est ergo locus noscitus ubi preesse nomina talia.

Adorandus est idem deus imperans celum et terram cunctaque maria.

Denique omnis evum mortalis laudes ordo in excelsis decantant agmina sacra.

Gaudia celi poscat futura atque vita felicemque quietam munera plena.

Nosque pium flagitemus Christum semper esse nobiscum.

Paradysique ianua reseret ultimo spiritu ferentem vitam eternam. Amen.⟩

[Leaf D recto = fragment 8v (flesh side)]

⟨**In vigilia pentecostes**⟩

⟨Of. Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terre. Sit gloria domini in secula, alleluia.⟩

⟨v. Benedic anima mea . . . [?]⟩

⟨v. Confessionem et decorem induisti⟩ amictus lumen sicut vestimentum. |

v. Extendens celus sicut pellem qui tegit in aquis | superiora ⟨e⟩ius qui ponis nubem ascensum tuum. Sit. |

Co. Ultimo festivitatis diem dicebat Ihesus qui in me credunt flumina | de ventre eius fl⟨u⟩ent aque vive; hoc autem dixit de spritu quem accepturi erant | credentes in eum, alleluia alleluia. |

Pentecostes

Tropus.

Spiritus sanctus descendit | in discipulos ⟨Ch⟩r⟨ist⟩i hodie de quo gaudentes dicamus. SPIRITUS DOMINI. |

v. Discipulos flammas infundit pectora blandas. |

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[69] This line, usually present, is omitted in the Penne fragment.

[70] The remainder of the leaf is blank. The sequence is completed here from Benevento 35.

⟨In.⟩ Spiritus domini replevit orbem | terrarum, alleluia, et hoc quod continet omnia scientia habet vocis | alleluia alleluia alleluia.

ps. Exurgat deus et ⟨dissipentur⟩ [Ps 67:1].

Alleluia. | v. Repleti sunt apostoli spiritu sancto et ce|perunt loqui magnalia dei. | All⟨eluia⟩* v. Dum complerentur dies pentecostes.

Prosa.

Pentecostes promis|sus celo spiritus adveniens ignis in enigmate bis senos simul commorantes

[verso = fragment 8r (hair side)]

domini replevit pleniter discipulos linguis effantur omnibus Christi nec-|non magnalia

[the Alleluia continues] erant omnes pariter sedentes.

Sequentia

Advenit spiritus sanctus hora die tertia.
Discipulis prebens charismatum dona. |
Omniumque linguarum eos loqui fecit genera.
Que prius in edificio turris con|fuderat superbia.
Et cunctis mirantibus dei non timent loqui magnalia. |
Quos ante Christi passio fugere fecit per compita.
Hos tamen compescere | procurabat iudeos
    plenos esse credens musti de crapula satis in|credula.
Quibus non metuit respondere petrus que noverat vera.
    Non | est abundantia vini clamans sed Iohelis prophetia.
Ecce cuius pri|mo negaverat fide predicat miracula.
Plenos eos iamque crediderat | linguarum gentibus munera.
Hodie sancta meri⟨ta que colenda.
Quibus spiritus sanctus | terram⟩[71] replet fluentem
    discipulis atque lingua⟨rum varia venit lingue⟩ | notitia.
In hac ergo die petimus tua sancta
mittere digneris ⟨ge⟩nitor alme | dona
    cordium atque nostrarum queque pelle tenebrosa.
Coop⟨er⟩ante nato ⟨tuo qui factus es mundi hostia.
Spiritus eiusdem sancti facienti quoque gratia.
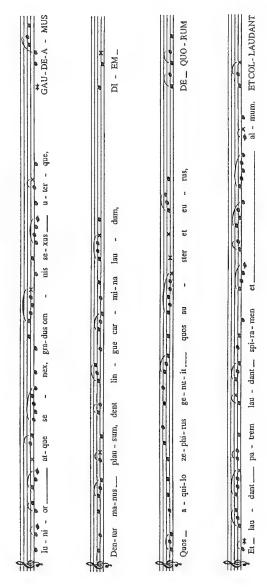Cuius est laus et gloria per secula. Amen.⟩[72]

Harvard University.

APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TROPE FOR ALL SAINTS IN THE LANCIANO FRAGMENT

Music typography by Alejandro Planchart

Lanciano, Archivio di Stato, fondo notarile Giovanni Camillo Girelli 1632–1638.

APPENDIX 2

LITURGICAL CONTENTS OF THE PENNE FRAGMENTS COMPARED WITH OTHER SOUTH ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS

The contents of the Penne fragments are listed in the first column. Bracketed items in that column are not present in Penne but are found in other manuscripts in the table. Other manuscripts inventoried:

B33   Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33. Notated missal, s. X/XI.
B40   40. Gradual with tropes, s. XI^1.
B38   38. Gradual with tropes, s. XI^1.
B34   34. Gradual with tropes, s. XII^2.
B35   35. Gradual with tropes, s. XII^1.
B39   39. Gradual with tropes, s. XI ex.
MC 540 Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 540. Notated missal, s. XI/XII.
MC 546   546. Gradual, s. XII/XIII.
V6082   Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082. Notated missal, s. XII.

\\\ = lacuna   no = not present   * = indicated by an incipit   (2 of 2) = second of two   rep = *versus ad repetendum*

Penne	B33	B40	B38	B34	B35	B39	MC 540	MC 546	V6082
LEAF A									
Purificatione									
Tr. Diffusa	*Tr.* Lumen 14r	\\\	\\\	*Tr. Nunc* 49r	*Tr. Nunc*	\\\	*Tr. Nunc*	*Tr. Nunc* 33r	*Tr. Nunc*
v. Specie					*Al. Tr.* Diffusa 18v				
v. Propter									
v. Audi									
⟨*Of.* Diffusa*⟩	14v	\\\	\\\	49r (verses)	19v (verses)	\\\	79r (no vv.)	33r*	38r*
Co. Responsum	14v	\\\	\\\	49v	19r	\\\	70r	33r	no

Penne	B33	B40	B38	B34	B35	B39	MC 540	MC 546	V6082
[OLD BENEVENTAN MASS]									
[S. Blasii] S. Agathe									
[old ben. row]	no	no	≡	no	no	≡	no	no	no
S. Agathe	no	no	no	no	no	≡	no	no	38v
In. Gaudeamus	14v	≡	≡	49v	19v (trope)	≡	80r?	34r	38v*
Gr. Adiuvavit	14v	≡	≡	50r	19v	≡	80r?	34r*	38v*
[Tr. Qui seminant]	15r	≡	≡	50r	no	≡	no	34r	38v*
All. v. Mens	no	≡	≡	no	20r	≡	81r (+prosula)	34r	38v
Seq. Eia organica	no	≡	≡	no	20r	≡	no	no	no
LEAF B Inv. S. Michaelis Seq. Rex nostra	no	59v (2 of 2)	81v (2 of 2)	no (2 others)	no (2 others)	77r (2 of 2)	≡	≡	no
Of. Stetit	95r (no v.)	60r (+prosula)	82v (+prosula)	170v (no pros.)	103r (+prosula)	79r (+prosula)	≡	≡	181r (no pros.)
v. In conspectu	(no v.)	61r	83r	171r*	103r	79r*	≡	≡	181r (+v. +v. ad R.)
Co. Benedicite	95v	61r	83r	no	no	no	≡	≡	no
[OLD BENEVENTAN MASS]	no	61r	83r	no	no	no	≡	≡	no
[S. Victoris]	no	no	no	no	no	no	≡	≡	181v

Penne	B33	B40	B38	B34	B35	B39	MC 540	MC 546	V6082
S. Gurdiani									
In. Sancti*	no	61v*	83v*	171r	103v*	79r	≡	≡	181v
Gr. Justorum	no	61v	83v	171r	103v	79r	≡	≡	181v*
v. Visi	no								no
[*All.* v. Sancti tui*]	no	61v*	83v*	171r*	no	79v*	≡	≡	no
[*All.* v. Pretiosa]	no	no	no	no	no	no	≡	≡	181v*
Of. Mirabilis	no	61v	83v	171r	104r	79v	≡	≡	181v*
v. Exurgat									
v. Pereant									
[*Co.* Justorum*]	no	62r*	84r*	171v*	104r*	79v*	≡	≡	181v*
LEAF C									
Dedic. ecclesie									
Seq. Ad templi . . . supra	no	64v	86r (1 of 3)	174v	105r	82v	≡	≡	no
Seq. Ad templi . . . fundata	no	65r	87r (2 of 3)	no	105v	83v	≡	≡	no
LEAF D									
Vig. Pentecostes									
⟨*Of.* Emitte v. Benedic⟩	no	75v	96r	184r	111v	94r	≡	≡	168r (no vv.)
v. Conf.									
v. Extendens									
Co. Ultimo festivitatis	no	75v	96v	184v	111v	94v	≡	≡	168r (+v.)

Penne	B33	B40	B38	B34	B35	B39	MC 540	MC 546	V6082
Pentecostes									
Tropus Spiritus s. v. Discipulis	no	76r (1 of 2)	96v (2 of 2)	184v (1 of 2)	112r	94r (1 of 2)†	≡	≡	no
In. Spiritus domini	99r	76r	97r	185r	112r (+rep)	94r	≡	≡	168v (+rep)
[Kyrie. Cunctipotens]	no	no	no	185v	no	no	≡	≡	no
[Kyrie. Christe clivis]	no	76	no	no	no	no	≡	≡	no
[Kyrie Supplices]	no	no	97r	no	no	no	≡	≡	no
[Gloria*]	no	77r	no	no	no	no‡	≡	≡	no
[Gloria. Qui deus]	no	no	no	186r	no	no	≡	≡	no
All. v. Repleti	no	no	no	no	115r (5 of 5 +prosula)	no	≡	≡	no
All. v. Dum com.	99r (1 of 2)	77r (3 of 3)	97v (2 of 2)	187r (2 of 3)	113r (3 of 5)	95v (2 of 2)	≡	≡	169r (2 of 2)
Prosula Pentecostes	no	77r	no (but a pal. seq)	187r	113r	95v	≡	≡	no
Seq. Advenit spiritus sanctus	no	78r (2 of 2)		188v (2 of 2)	113r (1 of 2)	97r (2 of 2)	≡		no

† The trope has an additional verse between the two in our fragment: see Planchart, *Beneventanum troporum corpus I*, trope 71.
‡ The introductory trope *Sacerdos dei* appears on fol. 95v.

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